

# THE Mahumetane or Turkish Historie, containing three Bookes:

- 1 Of the originall and beginning of the Turkes, and of the foure Empires which are issued and proceeded out of the superstitious sect of Mahumet.
- 2 Of their Conquests and the succession of the house of Ottoman, untill the present reigning of Mahumet the third.
- 3 Of the warres and siege of Malta, which Solymán the great made to the great Master and brothers of that order.

¶ Heerevnto haue I annexed a briefe discourse of the warres of *Cypres*, at what time *Selimus* the second, tooke from the *Venetians* the possession of that Iland, and by reason thereof I haue adioyned a small discourse conteining the causes of the greatnessse of the Turkish Empire.

Translated from the *French & Italian* tongues,  
by *R. Carr*, of the middle Temple in  
London, Gentleman.

Dedicated to the three worthy brothers  
*Robert Carr, William Carr* and  
*Edward Carr*, in the County  
of Lincolne, Esquiers.

¶ AT LONDON,  
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To the right worthy and worshipfull  
his louing colen *Robert Carr* of *Asuerby* in the coun-  
tie of *Lincolne* Esquire, one in his Maiesties  
Commission of peace  
there.

**S**IR the worthie estimation which  
first your Father, then your selte  
with your Worshipfull Brothers  
haue gotten, and euer retained in  
your countrey; for hospitalitie and  
many other your much commen-  
ded vertues, together with the de-  
sire I haue alwayes naturally had  
to do that declining name: (arightly so cald if in you &  
them it decay, whom all the rest hop'te to haue seene  
the euerlasting propagators of the same, and in which  
number I a sapplese braunch of that trunk am one)  
to whom I owe all seruiue or aught which might adde  
therevnto reputation; hath drawne mee to make ten-  
der of these my traductions, from the *French*, *Latin*,  
and *Italian* tongues, of this *Mahumetane* or *Turkish Hi-*  
*storie*, to your laide selte with your brothers, as true  
tokens of my deuoted minde, whereof to the vtmost  
of power you and they may dispose; Not for I  
thinke this Dedication or any other acte of mine, can  
giue aught to the fulnesse of your prayses whereof e-  
uery tongue that knows you plentifully speakes: But  
onely for I seeke in some honest office being an ad-  
mirer of your and their vertues, to make knownen my  
affection (though my selte vnknownen) which in ma-  
ny  
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## The Epistle

ny meditations hath often wished any occasion, that in trew coullers to you and them might once make it appeare; And now not expecting longer any greater: (for what might he in occasion expect further whose vawew onely consists in his minde) being importuned by the much intreatie of friends, that these my paines taken in this Historie might come abroad, I thought none so fit as well in regarde of my laide affection, as of your and their worthinesse to whom to consecrate these my lesse worthie labors. Wherefore to you fir the first both in time and place I present this first booke cōtayning the Originall of these *Turckes* with the foure Monarchies discended of them as the forerunner both in time and place to the other following, and not vnfitly appertayning: Because this booke being furnished with much varietie of matter as translations of *Empires*, chaunge of gouernment, small things from their meane beginnings growing to great perfection; great things by indiscretion and litle consideration, ruined, and ouerthrowen: Occasions hapning and happely pursued, drawing estimation and aduancement; neglected, pulling on dissolation and distruction. I say these and such like in this euerie where appearing to whom might I commend then your selfe whose ripe age cannot but be freshly stored with multitudes of such good obseruations, gathered from presidents, and examples, foraine and domestique, both of these and former times: And surely when my selfe aright enter in consideration of these thinges (whereof these bookes are a rich store-house) let mee speake it with a reuerend regarde alwaies (and vnder controule of religion) I am in opinion often a *Platonist*, as signing all mortall affaires

necessa-

## Dedicatorie.

necessarie a periode in theyr perfection, to which hauing attayned, they fall into a retrograde of declining, vntill they be brought to the lowest degree which miserie, can alot: nor there long continuing, againe and againe reuiue and arise from forth the ashes like to the *Arabian Phoenix*, (or as the Philosophers talke of the state of our bodies) alwaies either mending or impayring but neuer standing at one stay; So as houlding on this continuall course, the vtmost point euer of felicitie or infelicitie is conioyned in the selfe same instant to his next contrarie; which *Macrobius* well obseruing hath worthely depicted in these wordes.

*Non possunt primi esse omnes omni tempore  
Summum ad gradum claritatis cum veneris  
Consistes egre, & citius quā descendas decides  
Cecidi ego, cadet qui sequitur, hanc est publica:*

And as wee see in casting vp accompts those and the same counters to fall in places now of pouldres now of pence, without any certaine continuance other then sorts to their course: So not unlike is our condition heere, commaunded still with the chaunge either of better or worse, whereof *Seneca* according to his graue manner hath thus saide;

*Nulla fors longa dolor & voluptas  
Inuicem cadunt: breuior voluptas.  
Ima permutat brevis bona summis:  
Nemo confidat nimium secundis.  
Nemo desperet meliora lapsus.*

Which reasons whilst more narrowly I doe examine (though not so nicely as *Plato* to say that thorough the operation of the superior bodies in these inferior, or by the reuolution of the heauens in this or that

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time

## The Epistle

time this or that shall fall foorth ) haue beegotten in mee a beleefe for maintaining a second of his assertions viz.

*Omnes serui ex regibus & omnes reges ex seruis oriundi.*

For if in the restless variation of things and progresse of time, vnauoydable ruine attend the succession of greatnesse, but aduancement on the posteritie of miserie: who liues in so base and abiect fortune who may not challenge his being from worthie auncesters, and assure himselfe in him or his to see the arising Sunne of bright shining honor; As on the contrarie, what other aduanced to the highest degree of dignitie, who may not suspect the meanes of his first beginning, and iustly feare in the weaning of his fortunes to what condition (by the violence of this currant) he or his may be brought; All this I say am I drawne more redely to leane too; by reason of this present historie, for behoulding heerein from how lowly and small beginnings the victorious & neuer degenerating race of these *Ottomans*, together with the inuincible nations of their *Turkes* are growen; that being but bare breach *Tartars* only, runne out of the caues of those horrid countreyes of the *Ri-faan* and *Caucasus* mountaines, yet haue with glorious successe in their attempts ledde captiuitie captiue, made themselves now conquerours ouer the whole East; & in fine are become euen the terror of the West. Sacking infinit numbers of Citties and Countreyes: dispoyling multitudes of Princes and high descended families of theyr liues, together with theyr crownes and kingdomes: and this done in so few yeares space aboue all opinion, or what else before was euer executed by the antique world. It cannot be but to that which the  
course

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course of things doth daylie cast vpon them; (if there be a course in things which is not my purpose further heere to dispute: ) God almightie in his secret iudgements doth hasten their proceedings, to chastice the ingratitude of vs Christians for the small thankfulness we shew for so many his gracious benefits liberally, (though vnworthely) bestowed on vs. But my office is not of a diuine, hauing in purpose to make knowe onely what they haue euen from the first done, and daylie doe, rather then the reason of the deede, how it is or can be done. In which I heere present you and your Worshipfull brothers with three bookes. This of their Originall, and the seuerall Monarchies descended from them; Another of their conquests and the succession of the house of *Ottoman*, whose greatnesse hath in manner drownd all the rest; The third of the small gainefull attempt giuen by *Soliman* (great Grandfather to *Mahumet* the third of that name who now reigneth) to the Isle of *Malta*, or *Melita*, defended chiefly by the forces of the great Maister, and the valiancy of the worthy brothers of that order. By which last booke I wold thus much inferre, that since the prowesse of so small a handfull was not onely able to withstand, but repell the furie and huge forces of so confident an enemy, puffed vp with pride & assurance of so many rich spoiles and gayned victories: O what then would the forces of Christian Princes vnited doe, so we might but once see the glorious beams of that bright shyning day appeare. To this I haue annexed likewise an abstract (borrowed from the *Italians*) of such causes as are saide to giue greatnesse to the *Turckish Empire* a breuiate onely of a larger worke yet by me vnfinished, deuided into three bookes

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which



## The Epistle Dedicatorie.

which by gods grace shal come forth shortly, shadowed with the fauours of you & your brothers names. These former in the meane time if it shall please you to respect with that kinde acceptance which from you they seeke, though not well deserue: I of my paines receiue a large requital, who desire nothing more; Lastly whereas seuerally I assigne dedications of these books to you & your brothers, vpon my seuerall reasons in their Epistles set downe: it is not of any purpose to deuide you or them from the pleasure of any part, which I wish should be common vnto all: but rather to expresse thereby your mutuall natures cōformities, for as these books though diuersly directed, yet thus together participate they content to all readers alike if they please; whereto the dedication giues no hinderance. So you of all liuing brothers (with the mightie admiration of men) in distinct bodies are sayde to haue in euerie good thing one and the same vchangeable will & minde alwayes resident: where *meum* and *tuum* the worldes sole contentions neuer take place. Thus wishing to your Worshippe all content of your desires, and therein the full fruition of your health, with much affection prayed for by many, I take my leaue and to your good opinion commend mee; From the midle *Temple* this 20. of *March*. 1600.

Your kinsman in all faithfull  
service at command

R. Carr.

I : S : To his kinde friend R. C.

The well fed paunch, sound sleepes and proud attire  
From face of men hath banish't vertue quite  
Whereby the course of natures free desire  
Is cleane corrupt by customes soule despite.

So euerie light is spent which gracious heauen  
Assign'd this lyfe our staggering steppes to stay  
That now a worthie wonder it shall seeme  
If any one shall glorious actes assay.

The Lawrell wittes reward, the Mirtle eloquent  
Drownd in contempt with faire Philosophie  
The gayning people hould for time mispent  
And few folkes see the strayer path doe trie  
Yet gentle friend let mee of you require,  
Pursue the prayse due to your harts desire.

C : S : To his louing cōsent & good friend R. C.

Speake no prayse to thee my Cōsent kinde  
(For well of aught I know you seeke no prayse)  
But ioy to see that these our better dayes  
Shall bee adorn'd with beauties of thy minde.

O how I feard thy modest thoughts incline  
To sit in silence musing mourning layse  
In scorne of fame and all that honor rayse  
would drowne the parts which heauen to thee assign'd

I know thy worth and so shall many moe  
(Vnlesse thy selfe and many moe thou wrong)  
And since begonne to set thy selfe in shoe  
Bring out thy store in darknesse hid too long,  
Nor doubt nor aught for if (as east) I see,  
That pleaseth others which once pleaseth mee.

B

R : M :

*R: M: To his friend. R: C:*

**N**O little glorie gaine they I confesse  
who sicke foureling tongues our language teach;  
Yet he farre more deserues without impeach;  
His owne braines birth who well dyd e'er expresse.

Then gentle friend make you your selfe not lesse  
To poise vs French and Latine in our speech:  
But broach those queres of rare conceit and reach,  
Which I haue seene most worthie of the presse.

Those lone sick Sonets, those pleasing Comedies,  
VVhich oft with much attention I haue heard;  
That rich discourse, where loue in louing dies:  
And of all wittes those, paradoxs preferd.  
(O) let this age but some of these behold  
And prayse thy pen writ in a veyne of gold.

*The answer to his friend. R: M:*

**M**Y dearest friend I willingly confesse,  
That I whose life should other lead & teach,  
Am not deuoid of blame, and foule impeach,  
VVhich (O,) I would no tongue could ere expresse.

Now for I haue my selfe in wotth made lesse:  
Too stalc a fable to the publick speech,  
Is't not enough: but that I further reach  
To blaze my follies in a printing presse.

No pardone no, both songes and Comedies,  
And what besides pleasing applause hath heard,  
VVithout remorse in their creation dies:  
To byrth and buriall rites at once preferd.  
Too much of these dyd men in me behold,  
O would time past could be regaind with gold.

FINIS.

## The Preface, To the curteous Reader.

**I**T is no small wonder vnto me  
gentle Reader, though the worth  
of the argument containd in  
these booke were lesse, why the  
examples of other nations (as  
in other things) should not so  
much preuaile w<sup>th</sup> our countrey  
men, as to stirre by some, accor-  
ding to the presidents in many other languages  
(where with the world in large volumes is fraught,)  
to haue written somewhat of these Turkish affayres;  
For if we regard the greatnesse of their attempts,  
their fortunatenesse in successe, their Discipline, or  
what else may adde aught to militarie glorie: you  
shall finde them in my conceite not inferior but superi-  
or farre in euery thing which hath giuen estimatiō  
to former ages, of which booke we see euery hand  
and studie full, whilst these alone are hid from our  
people for want of some paine taking pen that might  
transfer so rich treasure from straungers vnto vs. If  
new things delight, (according to the naturall in-  
grafted condicion of man,) these are new; If benefit  
be expected in booke, (& especially in histories,) for  
counsaile & forewarning mischiefs in the examples  
and harmes of others, frō what former historie may  
we reap greater then this: stored with so many and  
notable presidents of all sorts, fresh bleeding as it  
were

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## The Preface to the Reader.

were before our eyes, (and which should be a greater  
motive) telling of ensuing danger, not much deu-  
ded from our owne doores, when daylie we lamenta-  
bly see our neighbours houses not farre of flaming.  
New fashioned clothes deriued from straungers,  
are every day much esteemed, new fashioned man-  
ners, new fashioned wittes are affected: then either  
for the worth or fashion, let these French and I-  
talian traductions receiue your fauorable censures:  
I dyd propound no greater gaine in my paines,  
and hope of your curtesies to obtaine no lesse, which  
graunted shall encourage me to shew you yet some-  
what more worthe ere long in this argument,  
wherein I hauing first (for aught I know) broken  
the ice (sauiug onely the Historie of Scanderbegg of  
the late Persian warres, & that of Tamberlain though  
exceeding well done yet but perticuler parts of this  
discourse) shall be glad to heare of any companion  
for further paines, to whom this subiect will afford  
enough of sufficient and worthe matter; And so cra-  
uing you would friendly correct what faults in the  
Impression haue passed either by me or the Printer,  
I take my leaue, and rest the seruant of euery well  
willing reader.

R: Carr.



The Originall and beginning of the Turkes, and of  
the foure Empires which are issued and proceeded  
out of the superstitious sect of Mahomet.



Onsidering that I haue the penne  
in hand, I make so mine accompt,  
that I were as good to make an  
ende as to staie, vntill you required  
of me, from whence the nation of  
the *Turkes* are come, & what man-  
ner people they be, that haue bene  
so much vnknownen to our prede-  
cessors sauiug about three hundreth yeeres agoe, and  
that *Pomponius Mela*, and *Pliny* haue made some men-  
cion of them and numbered the among the *Scythians*.  
But, to declare truely, their originall and beginning, it  
behooueth to beginne at the *Sarazines*, and than to  
write of the Empires, that haue beene engendered of  
their wicked and abhominable superstition and sect, as  
the *Calippe* of *Baudras*, the *Miramamolin* of *Aphrick*, the  
*Souldain* of *Egipt*, the *Afsan* or *Sophie* of *Perse*. For these  
are they from whom the *Turkes* are proceeded.

MAHOMET, (whom some doe call *Muhamet*, and  
the *Turkes Mehemet*, that is to say, loued or prayled,)  
was an *Arabian*; & borne in a village (nigh to *Mecque*)  
called *Itrarip*, about the yeere, of our Lord & sauour  
Iesus Christ 600. at such time as the Emperor *Heraclius*  
gouerned in *Greece*, & king *Dagobert* reigned in *Fraunce*,  
his father was named *Abdala*, which word may be in-  
terpreted, the seruant of God, though in deede he was

a Gentile and very Idolator. But *Mahumet* being an Orphan at the age of eight yeares, was left in the regiment of one of his vncles, named *Abutaliph*, who caused him to be instructed by a *Iewe* in the *Mathematical* and naturall *Sciences*; and after that to be married at the age of fifteene or sixteene years, and then instructed him in the trade of Merchandize, which hee practized both in *Egipt* and *Sury*, wher not a litle he frequented the company of *Iewes* & *Christians*, but chiefly with a Moncke of the order of saint Benet called Iohn, (as the Bishop of *Ptolomais* or *Acon* reporteth,) as also with another Monck called *Sergius* an hereticall *Nestorian*, of whō he learned the holy Scriptures, & especially the old & new Testament. To which knowledge whē he had attained & cōsidered with himself, that it was no great difficult matter vnder the shadow of Religion, so to draw to him the *Arabians* being but grosse, rude, and Idolators: he therefore absented himselfe out of companie and remayned secret by the space of two yeares. And after that presented himselfe to the people saying, that all the while of his absence, he was with the *Angell Gabriell* who taught and gaue to him the law of God; and that to belecue in Idols was foolish & vaine. But perceiuing, that at that time, his woords could obtaine small credit, he inuented another policie. For which purpose he had an Esclaue called *Zeidim*, to whom he told that the will of God was, that all men should be free, & therefore dyd giue him immediatly his libertie, wherby frō euery part, all the Esclaues in a countrey repayred to *Mehemet*, and gaue him such credit, that whatsoeuer hee commanded, they obeyed him: In so much as this companie,

panic, thus drawne together, brought no litle dread and feare to some great and welthie families in *Mecque*, as were the *Caraxins*, *Haximins*, and *Benimitains*, who vpon the intelligence of the drawing together of this wicked packe, tooke armour against them. Whereof *Mehemet* getting intelligence, fled immediatly, and retired himselfe to the towne of *Almedine*, sitheens called *Medinathalmaby*, which is so much to say, as *Medin* of the Prophet, where he began in such sort to preach to the *Iewes*, that in steede to belecue him, they beat him in sundrie fights and his Esclaues also. So as in one of these skirmishes *Mehemet* gat such a stroke ouerthwart his face, that not onely hee lost two of his fore teeth, but also was left for dead in a dike ther, wherin he was cast: though in the ende he overcame the *Iewes*. And because the *Arabians*, (which indeede be discended from *Ismaell* the sonne of *Abraham*, and of *Agar* his wiues maide,) were called *Agarins*; hee caused to be ordained (in that it was not honorable for his people to carie the name of a woman seruant,) that from thence forth they should be named *Sarazins*, deducted from the name of *Sara*, the lawfull wife of *Abraham*, alledging that *Ismaell* was engendred of *Sara* and not of *Agar* hir maiden. The which name of *Sarazins*, so long endured, vnto such time as the *Turkes* dyd abolish both the name and the nation, as heereafter I will declare. *Mahumet* hauing thus crept into credit among this ignorant and rude people, that hee was a Prophet and messenger of God, hee acquainted himselfe with a Lady of no litle wealth and riches, named *Tadiga* or *Cadiga* being a widow, and so to the purpose,

pose, hee behaued himselfe towards hir, that hee married hir, although hee had three other wiues besides hir, whereof the one was called *Anosse*, the second *Ahass*, and the third named *Seick*, or *Zeich*, whom he rauished from one that was one of his bringers vp, besides a Concubine that he had called *Marie* a Christian woman of the sect of the *Iacobits*. And than he began to publish his damnable law that it was lawfull for any man to haue soure wiues. Howbeit, thorough the marriage of this Lady, *Mahumet* was wonderfull re'nforced and strengthened, in such sort, as that thorough his welth that hee dyd get, he was able to wage soldiours. Whereby partly by force, and partly by good oppinion that was had in him, all his neighbours obeyed him, and so as his trayne growing to such a number thorough the multitude of *Sarazins* that repaired to him, the Emperour *Heraclius* (who at that time had vnder his dominion, both the countries of *Surie*, *Egipt*, and *Africk*) serued himselfe with these people in his warres against the *Persians*. Howbeit, it so afterwards came to passe, that at a pay of the Emperours army, among who at that time vvere certaine bands of the *Sarazins*, so as mony vvas not so plentie there at that instant, able to pay the vvhole army: And that hee, which had the order of the pay of the army among vvhom the bands of *Sarazins* also were attending for their vvages, vndercreetly gaue ansvvere to the *Sarazins*, that the Emperor had not mony ynough, there to pay the *Christians*, that vvere Souldiours; and therefore they being but dogges, ought not to demandaund for vvages. With vvich ansvvere, the *Sarazins* being not a little moued, departed from

from the seruice of the Emperour, and returned into *Africk* where they found *Mahumet*. The Emperour *Heraclius*, afterward sent into *Africk* to leuie his tribute there, which seemed to bee not a little greuous to the *Africans* to be so much troubled with subsidies, as they were: they falling into a mutinie, (and stirred thereto also with the subtil perswasions of *Mahumet*, that told them, the pleasure and will of God was that each one should liue at liberty,) the *Commissaries* of the Emperour were there slaine, and the countries of *Egipt* and *Africk* reuoluted wholly from the obedience of the Empire; of which rebellion, *Mahumet* was chiefe and their Generall: Who by reason of the same was immediately pursued both by the *Christians* and *Iewes*. And albeit the Emperour did send against him a great army vnder the leading of one of his Nobilitie called *Theodore*, who fought sundry battelles with the *Africans*: yet in the end *Theodore* being ouerthrowne and slaine. *Mahumet* with his *Sarazins* after this victorie departed from thence, & inuaded the countries of *Sury* & *Mesopotamia*, and made conquest of the same. Thus then the *Greekes*, lost the countries of *Sury*, *Egipt*, and *Africk*, & other territories which the Emperours of *Rome* and *Grecia*, had euer in possession from the time of *Iulius Cesar*, sauing that part of *Africk* which the *Vandalls* held who were *Christians*, though *Arrians*, & there had continued from the time that the *Romaines*, suffered them to inhabit: And so *Mahumet* was crowned king in *Damasco*, about the yeere of our Lord God 630. and liued after about tenne yeeres.

After the death of *Mahumet* the *Sarazins* preferred  
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to his kingdome one of his disciples & familiars, named *Othmar* whom the *Turks* doe call *Othmar*. Howbeit some affirme that hee that next succeded *Mahumet* was one called *Bubacher*, otherwise named *Caliph* which word signifieth enheritor or successor, beccause hee was placed in the rone & authoritie of *Mahumet*, and so after him were called all his successors, though some *Italian* authors doe call them *Alipha*. The chiefe place where the *Caliph* had his residence, was established at the citie of *Baudars* which the *Italians* call *Baldat*, & the *Turks* *Bazdet*, that sometime was the famous citie of *Babylon* though others hold opinion that this Citie, was that, which in times past was named *Susa*, and is situated vpon the riuier of *Euphrates*. About this time the *Sarazins* conquered in a little space (vpon the *Greekes*) the territorie of *Caramanie* aunciently called *Cilicia* where the citie of *Antioche* standeth, and *Pamphilia* which at this day is called *Scauri*, and the towne of *Selucia* named by the inhabitants there *Scandalor*, and after that they made enterprize vpon the kingdome of *Persia*, which they call *Pharsie* and this was about that time when the *Greekes* did cut of the nose, and the tongue also, of the Emperre *Martine* and *Heraclion* hir sonne and of the Emperour *Heraclius*, beccause they enpoisoned *Constantine* the eldest sonne of *Heraclius* begotten vpon an other wife at such time also the *Lumbards* entred into *Italy*. Of *Persia*, at this time, was king one called *Hormisda*, named also by *Hayton* (that writeth of these matters) *Ascaorth* elected king next after *Adasjar*, sonne of *Syro* sonne of *Cosroe* or *Cosdroe* whom the Emperour *Heraclius* tooke prisoner when he recouered the city of *Hierusalem*. *Hormis-*  
da

da, hauing assured intelligence, that the *Sarazins* were comming to inuade him, sought for succours at such as were his neighbours and chiefly of those of *Turquesten* who frontered vpon the *Persians* on the West & towards the East on the realme which *Hayton* calleth *Tarsie*, and vpon the famous riuier of *Indus* towards the North, and to the *Corasmins* and *Meds* on the South (which are the verie confines and limits which *Plinie* and *Strabo* doe appoint to the *Parties*) whom the *Turkes* doe call *Turquestain* as *Francis Freinston* saith. This nation which sittens by the Frenchmen & other haue bene named *Turquimans*, and afterward *Turks*, (who among them at that time had no manner of law or policy, departed out of their cuntry, to the number of six thousand fighting men, to come to the succour of king *Hormisda*. But beccause (according to their custome) they brought their wives and children with them, they were the longer in comming, so as before they came, the *Sarazins* and king *Hormisda* had fought together, and *Hormisda* overthrowen and slaine, about the yecre of our Lord God 640. And so the *Sarazins* became Lords of *Persia* and of the whole countries about, lauing the realme of *Abeas*, which is in *Georgia*, & a part of the greater *Armenie* called *Haloen* who were the refuge & receptacle of *Christians*. The *Turquimans* being by this arriued, (in that part of *Persia* named *Chorasen* or *Chorasen* and by some *Canakien*) they vnderstoode of the overthrow and death of *Hormisda*: for which cause, they staid there, and fortified themselves in the best wise they could, and sent vnto the *Sarazins*, requesting to accept them as their friends, & withall that they would receiue tribute from them,  
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them, for vvhich alwayes they vvould bee at their commandement to serue them faithfully in their vvares, if it vvould further vouchsafe the *Sarazins* to bestow on them the place, vvhere they at that time vvere to inhabit. The *Sarazins* receiued their ambassage curteously & accepted them as their friendes and offred Tributaries; howbeit they caused the *Turks* to lodge further of in a part of another countrie vvchich they appointed them, to thende that if they reuolted; they should doe the *Sarazins* lesse harme: In this manner remained the *Turks* or *Turquimains*, tributaries, & as it vvere subiects to the *Sarazins*, vvwhose customes, lawvs, & maners, they quickly learned through continuall trade and frequentation vvchich they had among the *Sarazins*; in so much, as in the end ther vvvas no manner of difference betwixt the, either in religion, law, or forme of life, vvchich vvvas very easie for the *Turks* to doe considering, that be ore they liued vvithout any law, rule, or pollicie, vvchich they vvwer sooner moued to embrace onely to be pertakers of the honours and riches vvchich the *Sarazins*, of vvhom these *Turks* became familiar companions and meruailously vvell beloned, for that they tried themselves to be euery vvhere in their warres, their best souldiers. Thus they liued together about three hundred yeeres, that they vvvere accounted in manner to be of one nation. Howbeit the *Turquimains* kept themselves alwayes a part by themselves and grew to bee of such wealth and might, that about the yeece of our Lord God 1400 they became maisters ouer the *Sarazins*, by occasion of discord growing among the *Sarazins* themselves, as hereafter shall be declared.

This

This first *Caliph*, endured not very long, because another *Sarazin* named *Alcaly*, chaled him from his place, purposing to haue vvurped his name, howbeit he could not so attaine it; for he vvvas slaine by the *Sarazins*, vvwho preferred another ( to that dignitie ) called *Haly*.

*Haly*, the second *Caliph*, vvvas coosen *Germain* to *Mahumet*, & his sonne in law ( as some affirme ) hauing married *Fatma*, ( vvvhom the *Turks* prononnce *Fatma* ) the daughter of *Mahumet*, vvwhose lawes vvvery chaunged, or rather annulled and made new of his ovvne inuention, through vvvhich inuouation of religion, or rather supersticion, the *Sarazins* became meruailously deuidd: In so much as those vvvhich folloved *Mahumet* made *Caliph* in *Egypt*. The others remained in *Persia* vvvhich *Haly* vvvhich alwayes continued in such reuerence and estimation as vvvell among them as vvwith the *Turks* at this day, that incontinently next to *Mahumet* vvwhen they goe about any of their affaires, they say *Alla, Mahumet, Haly, God Mahumet, and Haly*. Thus the *Sarazins* began to be deuidd among themselves the vvvhich diuision hath euersithens continued, and endureth yet: For albeit the *Turks* & the *Persians* also are in effect vvvery *Mahumetists*, yet differ they so in ceremonies, & other contrarieties of opinion, that the one do account the other vvvery heretiques. The *Caliph* doth execute his offices as though he vvvere both their *Pope* and their Emperour. For these *Caliphes* doe ordaine gouernours and officers through ouery prouince vvvhich they haue authoritie, vvvhich they call *Sultans*, vvvhich may be interpreted *Prinsep* or gouernours. But by succession of time, this terme *Sultan*, is conuerred to an appellation or name

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roiall



As the Latin  
word Impera-  
tor at the first  
was no name  
of Regall pow-  
er and autho-  
ritie.

roiall, and signifieth the word king. At the time of this first deuision there was a *Sultan* of *Alexandrie* named *Selym* that killed the first *Caliphe* of *Egypt*, and returned in obedience to the *Caliphe* of *Baudras* to haue fauour.

After this, part of those *Sarazins* of *Egypt* that would not come to the obedience of the *Caliph* of *Baudras*, passed into *Africk* & chased from thence the *Vandales*, which were *Christians*, but heretiques, maintaining the abhominable error of the *Arrians*, wher these *Vandales* had domination sithens the time of their king *Gencericus*, who with his nation being *Vandales* were chased out of *Hispain* by the *Gothes* ( that were *Arrians* as they also were ) and so arriued in *Africk* in the time of the Emperour *Theodosius* the yong sonne of *Arcadius* about the yeere of our Lord God 410. and after were tributaries to the Emperours of *Constantinople* where they remained vnto the yeere of our Lord God 668. that the *Sarazins* ( as aboue said ) ther first entred; and established a generall to rule ouer them, whom they named a *Miramamolyn*, which is so much to say as a ruler or lord ouer y people, & ordained his residence & place of dignitie, to bee at *Mirchque*, at this day called *Tunes* nigh to *Cartage*. Which name of *Miramamolyn* hath sithens beene chaunged: for at this day they call their king *Moule*, as he that at this day reigneth at *Tunys*, is called *Moule Assan* that is to say, king or *Seigneur Assan*.

I would not discribe to you further at length what the *Sarazins* did, after their conquests of *Perfia* & *Africke*. But will admit a little intermission vnto the yeere of our Lord God 1040. at which time they were subdued by the *Turkes* or *Turquimains* their tributaries. For other-

otherwise that were against my purpose, determining rather to make an Epitome or abridgement, than a whole large Chronicle of their dooings.

THE yeere of grace 660. *Mehua* ( which signifieth suddaine or hastie ) *Sultan* of *Egypt*, successor of *Selym* tooke the Isle of *Rhodes*, and carried away the famous Colosse or pillar of *Brasse* that was esteemed on height three score and tenne elles, which an Earthquake overthrew as *Plinie* affirmeth.

IN the yeere of our Lord God 660. *Abdalla* ( the *Sultan* of *Egypt* after *Mehua*, ) came to *Syracuses*; where sometime was slaine the Emperour *Constantins* sonne to *Constantine*, whom his mother in law *Mirkyn*, wyte to *Heraclius* caused there to be poysoned: where the *Sarazins* sacked the towne with a great part of the riches of *Rome* which the said *Constantins* before had caused to bee brought thether to haue conueyed the same to *Constantinople*.

ABOUT the yeere of 690. *Abimelech* ( which woord may bee enterpreted the father of the King ) inuaded *Hispain*, with a nauie of 270. shippes, but was repulsed, and from thens, passed into *Africk*, from whence, againe the *Sarazins* were chased by the Emperour *Iustinian* the second: And so *Abimelech* was the first *Miramamolyn* among the *Sarazins*, against whom, the Emperour *Leonce* sent a Captain of his, named *Tiberius* who by the armie was made Emperour, and so without executing further his charge, returned to *Constantinople*, against his Master *Leonce*, where after he had taken him, and cut of his nose; he cast him in prison in which the miserable *Leonce* remained all his life: These matters being done at the



time, when Sergius, the first of that name, was Pope. And Theodorick or Thierry sonne of Clouys reigned King in Fraunce.

IN the yeere of our Lord God 712. Sultan Selyman (which is so much to say as pleasurable) whom, some doe call QULEMEN, the Caliphe of Baudraz besieged Constantinople, but thorough pestilence and famine, possessing his Camp, he was driven to raise his siege, which before had bene continued by the space of two yeeres. And this was, at what time the Emperor Theodose had taken his predecessor Anastasius & made him a Monck, when Gregory the twelfth was Pope, and Chilperick the last King of the line of Pharamonde reigned in France.

IN this time, also MIZZA Miramolin, successor of Abimelech, at the request of Julian the Conte of Consuegra (who was sent as Embassador to him, from Rodrigo King of Hispaine) caused twelve thousand men vnder the leading of his generall called Cariph, to passe into Hispaine against the sayde King Rodrigo to reuenge the iniurie done to the sayd Conte Julian, in that Rodrigo had deflowered the daughter (or as some doe say the wife) of the sayde Conte Julian, called Caba, as the Chronicles of Hispaine doe make mencion: Who landed at Gibraltar which place our auncients name Calpe and the Sarazins, Gibelcariph (the Mount of Cariph,) and from thence marched alongst the famous Riuer of Betis (and by the Sarizens named Guadalquiber) which is so called vnto this day. Where nigh vnto the same, in a foughten battell the sayde King Rodrigo, (who was the last king of the line of the Gothes) was slayne.

And taking hold of occasion the Sarazins so farre then pro-

proceeded, that they conquered in manner the whole kingdom of Hispaine, where they lost the name of the Sarazins and were called by the Spaniards, Moores (of the name of the countie in Afrique (from whence they came) called Mauritania.

THE yeere 725. Eudes Duke of Aquitaine, otherwise called the Duchie of Guien (descended from Alarie king of the Gothes, who in the yeere of our Lord 412. at such time as the Emperour Honorius reigned) dyd possess the same duchie of Guien, from whence passing into Hispaine, and from thence chasing the Vandales, as before I haue sayde, brought into Fraunce (against Theoderick brother of Chilperick, sonnes of Dagobert the second of that name: which Theodorick was the last king of the ligne of Pharamond.) Those Sarazins, (who at that time were in Hispaine, conducted by Abderaman (whom the French Historiographers doe call Adramar) King of Cordoua, who after their entrie into Fraunce, tooke the townes of Bourdeaux, Tholose, Narbone, Nimes, Arles and Auignon, Platina, Blondus, Sabellicus, and other Historiographers doe write that those Sarazins came euen to towres, where they were fought with, by Charles Martel, (father of Pipin,) and ouerthrowen so as all that euer was wonne by them before, was againe recouered by the same King Charles, and the Sarazins chased into Hispaine, where after they remayned more than 700. yeeres. Vnto such time as Ferdinand the king of Aragon did win from them the Citie and Countie of Granado: (which was in the yeere of our Lord God 1487.) Howbeit, ther tarried and remayned still sundrie townes and villages entier, peopled with the Sarazins whom the Emperour

Charles ( the fifth of that name ) comming to his dominions in Hispain found ther dwelling, and caused to embrace the christian faith, yet they could neuer bee cōpelled to chaunge their habit or the language of the *Sarazins*, nor perhaps secretly their abhominable *Mahometical* sect, what face outwardly so euer they shew.

In the yeere of our Lord God 500. the *Sarazins* of Africk, did take the Isles of *Corsica* and *Sardinia*, and two and twentie yeeres after they pilld and sacked the Isles of *Candia* and *Sicilia*, and so held them more than two hundreth yeeres : at what time Pope Leo was persecuted by the Lumbards, and succoured by *Charlemain*.

The yeere of our Lord God 837. The *Sarazins* vnder the leading of Sultan Sava wan the port of *Ciuitauechia*, in Italy and sacked the citie o' Rome, and the Church of Saint Peter, with the *Mont Cassin* ( otherwise called *Saint Germain*, which is the chiefe monestary or abbie of *Saint Benet*. And twentie yeeres after that they tooke the port of Ancona and ouer ran all the coasts on that side of the Golfe of Venice, and likewise those on thother side on the coast of Sclauonie : and this done in the reignes of Lotharie son of Lois le Piteux king of Fraunce, and *Michaell* Emperour of Constantinople about the yeere of our Lord God 900. they likewise assailed the territories of *Pulia* & *Calabria* in the kingdome of Naples, & wan *Mont Gargan*, otherwise called Le Mont Saint Auge ) when as Constantine sonne of Leo, who was sonne of *Basilins*. Emperour of Constantinop'le reigned and that Berengier (of the ligne of the Lombards) caused the eies of Lewes ( who was last Emperour of the ligne of the French men and sonne vnto to the Emperour *Arnold* ) to bee

bee put foorth.

In the yeere 923. Roman the Emperour of Constantinople, did stir the *Sarazins* to inuade the territories of *Pulia* and *Calabria* which rebelled against him : Howbeit the *Sarazins* were ouerthrowen at the riuer of Garrigian by the Marquiz of Tuscan named Aulbry or Alberic, at the especiall instance of Pope Iehan the eleuenth of that name.

In the yeere 930. the *Sarazins* wonne the towne of *Gennes*, and spoiled all that coast of the Sea, when the Berengiers occupied the Empire, & fortified the towne of *Fraxinet* which they kept 100 yeeres.

Thus the *Sarazins* continued inuading and spoiling the fertile regions of *Italy* ( while the controuersies were depending about the right of possessing the Empire, betweene the *French*, the *Greekes*, and *Lombards*, & the discentions were on foote betweene the Popes & the people of Rome in such sort, as they enioyed the most part of *Pulia* and *Calabria* which they kept euen vnto the yeere of Grace 990 or thereabouts, that they were chased both from thence and out of *Sicilia* also, by *Tancred de Haulte Ville*, or *Haulte Fucille* in Normandy, ( who first beegan with them ) but ended by Guillaume Ferrabach sonne of the said Tancred, with the help of Maloch leiuetenant of Michaell Cathalau Emperour of Greece : And so they did bring back from the hands of the *Sarazins* *Pulia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicilia*, whereof the said Guillaume remained lord, in the time of Robert the French king, and of the Emperour *Otho*, the third of that name.

In the yeere of our Lord 1040. the number of *Sultains*  
D.ii.

tains or Soldains began to be many: For in euery Province, the *Caliph* ) as I before declared ) did institute one as at Damasco one; at Hames another; at Halep the third: in Egypt another, & the like in sundry other places; who falling at dissention one with the other, did in the end reuolt from the obedience of the Caliph. In Hispaine likewise, euerie of the Moors that could get vnder his obedience a citie or towne, would immediately vsurpe the name of a king, as at Granado, Cordoua, Toledo, Sarragosa, Ciuilia, and Valentia. In like manner was it vsed in Africk, as at Tunes, Tripolis, Bugia, Maroch, Fesse, and Tremessen and other places also there, so as in manner no kinde of amitie or friendship was maintained among these kings, but for the most part continuall dissention & wars. Wherof when the Turks had got intelligence ( who as yet rested vnder the obedience of the Caliph who were meruailously this while encreased both in wealth & number of people ) and withall perceiuing that the Sarazins were wonderfully weakened and diminished through these intestine deuisions & wars thus among them selues; they made a king whō they called Sadoc ( which name is so much to say as Iust ) and inuaded the Sarazins whom within short time they ouerthrew, so as therby they made themselves shortly dominators ouer whole Persia and Syria, alwaies with great reuerence regarding in no wise to touch the Caliph, for the high estimation that they bare him who was suffered still to liue quietly at Baudras. And at whose hands the said Sadocke would be named and created the Sultan of Asie, howbeit he liued not long after.

After

After Sadoc, his sonne Dogriz succeeded, who did annex to the gotten Empire of his father the country of Mesopotamia which *Diogines* the Emperour of *Constantinople* had recovered from the Sarazins at such time as they had warres among them selues as likewise the whole countrie of *Cilicia*, which hee gaue to his cosen Arthot.

To Dogriz succeeded Aspalam his sonne; who about the yeere of our Lord God 1080. did send his Nephew *Solyman* into *Cappadocia* ( being then vnder the possession of the Greekes ) to whom he gaue all there, that he could conquer: Who in such sort guided his affaires, that he brought vnder his obedience the whole Asia the lesse; except the Sea coasts towards the South, and the Isle of *Cipres*: And this was that valiant Soliman that gaue charge vpon the famous Godefroy de Buillon and the army of the christians remaining in siege before the towne of Niece, in Asia the lesse, as before I haue shewed; which Solyman the said Hayton doth name Solimanfa.

About this time a Gentleman of Hispaine named Rodrigo de Vuiar, chased the Moors out of a great part of the realme of Valence in *Aragon* and from much of Castile, who was named by the Moores, through his excellencie, Cyd: ( that is to say, Lord ) and Cyd Ruydas, from whom the noble & famous race of the *Mendoza*s are descended.

VVhence the family of Mendoza in Spaine had their beginning.

To Aspalam succeeded Melechla his sonne who sent Arthot the Sultan of Mesopotamia to Antioche, wherunto also by his commaundement, came the said Solyman and tooke the same citie with all the country about,

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bout, and thus you see how the Greekes lost all *Asia* the lesse.

Belchiarot, sonne of Melechla reigned after his father, who liued whan as Godefroy and the christians passed into the holy land, and besieged the citie of *Antioche* in Suria, being then vnder the dominion of the said Belchiarot, and by him committed to the defence of a Turk named *Affan* or *Cassan*, whom in *Antioche* hee had ordeigned his Generall, to whom after he sent in succour one named (by Hayton) *Cerbagat*, and by the Frenchmen *Corbadas*, who ariued there when the christians had already gotten *Antioche*, where vpon hee besieged them in the same citie a long time, but in the end *Corbadas* was fought with by the christians ouerthrowen & put to flight, as in the Historie of that iourny plainly appeareth, wherfore *Corbadas* now returning back into Persia found that *Belchiarot* was dead, & that his yongest brother pretending right to the crowne was slaine. Now when the Turks of Persia could not accord and agree whom to make their King, but fought long among themselues therevpon, the same of their dissention came to the eares of the *Georgiens* and *Armenians* their neighbours, being christians, who considering the great army of the other christians than remaining in Suria, immediately inuaded the Turkes thus deuided among themselues, and did beate & chase them out of Persia, so that such of the Turks as could escape some retired towards *Solyman*, and some to *Arthot*, and others of their nation, being than in *Asia* the lesse. And this was in the yeere of our Lord God 1106. at such time as Baldouin brother to Godfrey reigned king in Hierusalem. This *Georgiens*

*orgiens* after that they had thus chased the Turks out of Persia pilld and spoiled the country, & forbearing from farther pursuit of their good fortune (as they should) against the *Souldans* of *Damasco*, *Halep*, *Hames*, and others that remained in quietnesse. But with the *Armenians* departing from the realme of Persia, a certaine people among the *Corasmins* (whom some Latin Historiographers doe call *Grossiones*) neighbours to that prouince which diuers doe thinke to bee those whom the auncients doe name to be the Medes who vpon the East haue the Sea called *Mare Caspium*, *Hircanum* or *Abucuth*, and on the South *Turquesten* or *Parthia*, and vpon the North *Cumania* or *Alania*, and vpon the Occident or West *Persia* and *Armenie* the greater) who had none other vocation, trade or condition of life, but liued like herdmen and keepers of cattell, hauing among them neither house or towne (howbeit very valiant in warres) these entred then into Persia, where, of very poore catiues, they beecame a rich people and made a King among them called *lalaladin* (which signifieth the gift or grace of God.) With this their king they became so hardy and bold as to inuade the Turks beeing in *Asia* the lesse: howbeit they were encountered by the Souldan of Turque named *Aladin* & ouerthrowen in a sore foughten fielde in which conflict *lalaladin* their King lost his life, & the rest that escaped did assemble themselues in the plaine of *Rohaiz*, with purpose to haue entred into Suria: But the Souldan of Aleph did enbarre them of that passage, & chased them euen vnto the deserts of Arabia, who from thence, trauiasing the territory of Caldee or Assyrie, they passed the riuers of Euphrates

nigh to a castell there named Cacabe, and entred into Iudea (otherwise called the Hierusalem) wher they committed much outrage and damage. Howbeit in the end this multitude of disordered people could not long abide together considering euery of them would bee a ruler, so as their Captaine that should haue commanded could not be obeyed, and so they departed by troopes and companyes, whereof some retyred towards the Sultan of Damasco, others towards him of Halep, & some to him of Hames, but the most of them repaired to the Soldan of Egypt, to whom likewise repayed their Captaine Bartat; seeing himselfe so abandoned and forsaken of his owne soldiours. And thus decayed the force of this nation of the Corasmins (whom the writers of the passage and iourney of Godfrey doe call Hoarmins,) who mayntained their reputation but a litle time.

In this manner the Turkes remayned in Surie, chiefly the Corasmins. Now for the *Sarazins* they deuided themselves into litle realmes vnto the yeere of our Lord God 1240. or thereabouts, that the Tartares ouerthrew them as heereafter shall be declared; whilst in the meane time the Turkes daylie continued wars against the kings of *Hierusalem* as followeth.

In the yeere of our Lord God 1103. the Turkes tooke prisoner Boemund the Prince of Antioche (sonne of Robert Guiscard surnamed Courbepine discended from Tancred, the Norman of whom beefore I made mention.) Who, three yeeres after, was redeemed by his nephew Tangrey.

In the yeere 1105. the Turkes made head against Baldwin

Baldwyn the first of that name (King of *Hierusalem* brother of Godfrey) as he besieged the towne of Acre, and were ouerthrowen, after which that towne (otherwyse called *Accon* and *Ptolemais*) was taken by Baldwyn together with the towne of *Licquee*, which the auncients called *Laodicea*. And foure yeeres after that hee tooke the towne of *Baryth* sometime called *Berythus*, and so likewise the towne of *Sydon*. Ptolemais Opp: nunc Acre.  
Laodicea Opp: nunc, Licquee  
Berythus Opp: nunc, Baryth.

In the yeere of our Lord 1115 the Turkes vanquished and put to flight king Baldwin the second of that name at *Montreal*.

In the yeere 1120, King Baldwin tooke *Gazis* (whom some doe call *Gary*,) from the Souldan of *Damaz*.

In the yeere of our Lord 1122. King Baldwin was taken prisoner by Balach (named by some Alaph) Souldan of *Hames* (aunciently called *Gamela* or *Gamela* and *Gaucamela*) which word Balach signifieth a destroyer. So as he remained there prisoner by the space of one yeere. Gamela Opp: nunc, Hames.

The yeere of our Lord God 1128 King Baldwin discomfited *Dolaquin* (of some named *Baldoquin*) and of others called *Baldegan*, Souldan of *Damaz*, who succeeded to the Souldan *Gazis*.

The yeere 1132 Foulques Danion who married the daughter of King Baldwin, & succeeded in the kingdome of *Hierusalem*, ouerthrew the Turkes at Ybelim which Place holy Scripture calleth Geth. Geth: nunc Ybelim.

The yeere 1140 or ther abouts, Alaph (or Balach) Souldan of *Hames*, tooke the towne of Rohaiz & there vnmercifully murdered a great number of Christians.

The yeere 1143 King Baldwin the third of that name,

E.

name, sonne of king Fulque discomfited at Hierico, the valiant Norradin (son to Baldecán,) Soldan of *Damascus*.

The yeere 1146. The Emperour Conrad and King Lewes of Fraunce, sonne of Lewes le Groz passed into Surie, where with king Baldowin they besieged the towne of *Damascus*, but could not take the same, and therefore they returned home into their Countries.

The yeere 1148 after the departure of these said two Princes, Norradin the Souldan of *Damascus* besieged Antioche, wher Raimond the Conte of Antioche issuing forth in a skirmish was vnfortunately slaine, the Contes of Rohaiz and Tripoli taken prisoners, which Contee of Tripoli, after, was shamefully murdered by an Assassin.

The yeere 1160 Almery king of Hierusalem brother to king Baldowin, tooke the towne Alexandria, & besieged the great citie of *Cais* in Egypt.

The yeere 1170. Saladin the Souldan of Egypt began to inuade the holy land in the time of king Baldowin the fourth of that name king of Hierusalem, at what time likewise the Emperour Frederic made war vpon the Pope & the church in burning & destroying Italy.

The yeere 1174 king Baldowin discomfited the Souldan Saladin, at the towne of *Tabaria* (which sometime was called *Tiberias*) & after that ouerthrew a second time at the towne of *Ascalone*.

The yeere 1179 king Baldowin aforesaid fought againe with the Souldan Saladin at Margelion nigh to the towne of *Tabarie*, wher king Baldowin then was discomfited.

The yeere 1184 began that discention among the Christians

Christians in the holy land, which was the cause of the losse of the same: The originall of which was this Guy of Lusignen, hauing married the Lady Sibill sister of the late king *Baldowin* (and widow of William Longuespee Marquis of Monferrato) by whom she had a son named *Baldowin* who at that time but suckd his Nurce to whom appertained the kingdome of *Hierusalem*; the said Guy of Lusignen father in law of the infant would needes haue his title and wardship against the will & minde of *Bertrand Contee* of *Tripoli* to whose tuition and gouernance the childe was giuen by force of the testament of king *Baldowin*, brother of the said lady Sibell, when in the mean time the infant died & ther vpon *Guy* of *Lusignen* named himsele king in the right of his wife, wherwith the *Contee* of *Tripoli* was wonderfully wroth.

The yeere 1186 *Saladin* tooke prisoner *Guy* of *Lusignen* king of *Hierusalem*, with the maisters of the *Templars* and of the order of *Sainct Iohn* that came to succour the towne of *Tabarie*, which the said *Saladin* had then besieged, so as vpon restoring of king *Guy*, & the both aforesaid maisters to their liberties, *Tabarie*, *Lique*, and *Ascalone* were rendred to *Saladin*, who in the end wan also the citie of *Hierusalem*, & after the towne of *Acre*.

The yeere 1147 the *Templars* reencountred *Saladin*, nigh to *Casal Robert*, wher *Saladin* ouerthrew them, & slew in sight the maister of the order of *Sainct Iohn Hierusalem* named *Brother Roger dez Molins*, which hapned the first day of May that yeere.

In the yeere of our Lord God 1149 ther passed to succour the holy land the Emperour *Frederic Barberossee*,

E.ij.

Philip

Tyberias Opp:  
nunc, Tabaria

Philip the French King, and Richard King of England. Frederic tooke his way by land, and comming into Cilicia, where thorough extreame heate, desirous to bath himselfe (or as some say in passing the riuer, which some doe call Cauno, and the frenchmen, the riuer of *Sabz*, & the latins doe name Cydnus which passeth through the famous citie of *Tharsus*, at this present named *Therassio*) was vnfortunatly drowned. The two kings his confederates ariued in *Sicilia*, & frō the towne of *Mossana* they passed into the holy land, & came to the towne of *Acre*, which after two yeeres beesieging they tooke. King Richard in his passage thether tooke the Island of Cypres which he gaue to king *Guy* of *Lusignen* in exchange for the kingdome of Hierusalem: But after the taking of *Acre* king Phillip being sickly returned into France.

The yeere 1204. *Baldouin* Earle of *Flanders* and *Henry Conte de Saint Paul*, with his brother *Loys Conte de Sauoy*, and the *Conte Boniface de Montferrat*, with a great company assembled themselues at Venice, to passe from thence into the holy land. To whom the Venetians did graunt ships vpon condition that beefore they passed they should aide them to recouer the towne of *Zara* in *Sclauonie* (which before had reuolted from them) and so hauing done they after proceeded on their voyage to Constantinople whereof they possessed themselues in the Empire which remained in the frenchmens hands about threescore yeares after.

The yeere 1210. *Iehan de Brene*, married the daughter of *Conrad* of *Montferrat*, and the Lady *Isabell* daughter of king *Amaulry*: who was sister of *Baldouin* the Meleked; and of the Lady *Sibel* that was wife to *Guy* of *Lusignen*.

*signen*: Which said *Iehan de Brene* was made king of *Hierusalem*, & crowned at the towne of *Tyrus* (which commonly is called *Sar* and *Sor*) by reason that it is situated vpon a rocke in the sea. But Alexander the great to the intent to winne that towne filled vp all that distance of the sea betwixt the same and the land with stone and earth, so as at this day the same remaineth firme ground, which towne of *Tirus*, came into the possession of the said *Conte Conrad* who afterward was shamefullie, on a suddaine, murdered, by a couple of the sect of the *Assassins*.

In the yeere 1216. *Pope Honorius* the third of that name did send the Cardinal *Colonne* into Surie accompanied with *Henry Contee* of *Neuers* and *Gualtier* of *Sancerre* Constable of Fraunce with others in a great nūber: who after their landing in *Acre*, disceded into *Egypt*, & tooke there the towne of *Damiat*, which within sixe yeeres after, vpon composition, was surrendred to *Cordier* son of *Saladin*, Souldan of *Egypt*: whom the frenchmen doe call *Le Admiral des Cordes*; In which time also *Iehan de Brene* king of *Hierusalem* accompanied with his brother *Garin de Montague* great maister of the order of *Saint Johns* came into Fraunce, & in passing through Italy, the said king of *Hierusalem* gaue his daughter *Yolant* in marriage to the Emperour *Frederic* (second son to *Henry*, who was sonne to *Frederic Barberouffe*) with the whole interest & title which he had to the kingdome of *Hierusalem*, which the *Kinges* of *Sicilia* doe intitile themselues to & claime at this day.

The yeere 1229. the said Emperour *Frederic* departed out of Italy giuing hopes that hee would passe into

E.iii.

Surie,

By what title the kings of Spaine challenge the right of the crowne of Hierusalem.



Surie, but incontinently hee returned againe as one ha-  
uing small deuotion to performe that voiage.

In the yere 1230 the aforementioned *Soldan Corder* cau-  
sed the vuals of Hierusalem to be ouerthrowen at such  
time as the Emperour Frederic persecuting the church,  
gaue beginning to the partialities of the Guelts & Gibe-  
lins & therewith not contented; did call in the Sarazins  
of Africk to his seruice, and gaue to them the towne of  
Nucera in Italy (vvhich yet is called Nucera des Sara-  
zins) from vvhich aftervvard they vv ere expelled by  
the Frenchmen.

In the yere 1237 *Theobald* king of Nauarre, *Emery*  
*Contee* of *Montfort*, & *Henry Contee* of *Campaign*, & *Barr-*  
vvith a great army passed through Hungary & *Constan-*  
*tinople* into Surie, and recovered sundry townes which  
the *Sarazins* before had wonne, but encountring with  
the *Soldan Corder* betwixt the townes of *Acre*, and  
*Gazera* (sometime called *Gaza*) there they vv ere dis-  
comfited and ouerthrowen by the same *Soldan*.

In the yere of our Lord God 1244 the christians were  
discomfited at a place called *Forbye*, where were taken  
the Maister of our order of *Sainct Iohns* called brother  
*Guillaume de Chastelnuc* and the Maister of the *Tem-*  
*plers* named brother *Herman de Pierrefort*, the Arch-  
bishop of *Sury*, and two sonnes of *Signeur de Boteron*,  
(which otherwise was called *Botrus*) with moe then  
three hundred Gentlemen; At which time likewise the  
cruell wars by sea began betwixt the *Venetians*, & the  
*Geneuoys* about the intrest & possession of the *Mone-*  
*rary* of *Sainct Saba* in the towne of *Acre* in *Sury*, which  
may wel be said another cause of y<sup>e</sup> losse of the holy land.

In

In the yere 1249 *Lewes* the French king, otherwise  
named *Sainct Lewes*, passed the Seas and was taken  
prisoner before the tovvne of *Damiat* in *Egypt*, by the  
*Soldan Melechsalem*, but after his attained liberty hee  
recovered the townes of *Sidon* and lasse aunciently  
called *Joppe* before that time taken by the said *Soldan*.  
I am now come vnto the time that the *Tartares* inuaded  
the *Turks* or *Turquimans*, but to the end it may be bet-  
ter vnderstood how this came to passe, & fro whom this  
people of the *Tartares* haue their being, it behoueth me  
a little to rume back, & to begin a little before this time.

In the yeece 1231. in that country of *Tartaria* vv hich  
at this day is called *Catay*, (and the *Orientall Scy-*  
*thia*) at vv hich time the *Tartares* liued vv ithout know-  
ledge of any law, or forme of gouernment: there was  
one (by *Hayton*) called *Cangy*, and by *Paulus Ve-*  
*nerus*, *Chinchis*, but by *Michael a Michou*, (*Cin-*  
*guis*) beegotten vpon a widdow during hir widdow-  
hood: who hauing other children by hir former hus-  
band, they would haue staine hir all for shee had con-  
ceiued this *Cangy* while shee was widdow: howbeit  
shee so wittely behaued hir selfe in hir words, that shee  
caused them beleue, how shee conceiued that birth by  
force of the beames of the sun; & other farther in name  
the child had not, which opinio<sup>n</sup> so taking place, was not  
onely auailable to the mother, but also afterwards to  
*Cangy*, who coming to perfect age, brought this barba-  
rous people to beleue that the almightie God, had sent  
him to bee their king, & to make them Lords of those o-  
ther nations to whom euen vnto that time they had ben  
tributaries, by reason they neuer had head to guide the.

E.iii.

And



And so prudentlie this Cangy caried himselfe that he subdued all his neighbours, and therefore was turnamed Cangy Can, (or Cham) hee reigned twelue yeeres, and died by the stroke of an Arrow which had wounded him in the knee at the assault of a castell. His Cangy was the first that perswaded the Tartars to beleecue in one God.

To Cangy Cham, succeeded Hoccata his son, who to know countries further of, sent ten thousand horse men to inuade the territorie of Cappadocia than possessed by the Turks by whome these Tartares were ouerthrowen: with vvhich losse Hoccata being not a little moued, he sent againe, thirtie thousand men, whom hee called Tamachi (that is to say conquerers) against whom, vpon the frontiers of Cappadocia (which the Turks call Genceh) came Guijatadin king of the said Turkes, (whom Sabellicus doth name Goniart.) In whole army were two thousand christians (the remainder of the forces, that before came into Surie) conducted by two Captains whereof the one vvas called John Liminad of the Island of Cypres, and the other Boniface du Chasteau a Geneuoy (Sabellicus calleth this Boniface, Boniface du Molin vvhich he saith vvas a Venetian,) but in that daies deed Guijatadin and his Turks vvere discomfited in the yeere of our Lord God 1239. about vvhich time also Hoccata died, leauing behind him three sons, the one named Cin (vvhom Paul the Venetian calleth Cui) and of others Guys & Gnyscan,) the second vvas called Iochy, & the third Baydo or Batho (as Michael of Michou saith.)

After Hoccata, his son Cin or Cui succeeded, vvhose reigne

reigne not long continued.

Next to him, Mango or Mongu whom (Sabellicus calleth Metho) cosen to the said Hoccata possessed the Empire of Tartaria. This is that Mango Cham, to whom Pope Innocent the fourth, of that name, did send Freer Ascelin, (one of the order of the Freers Preachers.) in the yeere of our Lord God 1266. as Vincent the Historial and Michael a Michou doe report.

Iochy whom some doe call Iachis one of the sonnes of the sayde Hoccata tooke his way towards the West (being the countries of Turquesten and the Corasmins and part of the Region of Persia) euen vnto the riuer of Tygris which Hayton calleth Phison (but I beleecue that Phison is that Riuer which is called Ganges) where Iochy remayned.

Baydo or Batho, the third sonne of Hoccata passed thorough Ruffie, Cumanie, or Comanie, and Molcouia and entred into Polone, Hungary, & Austruhe burning and destroying the countries beefore him which afterward thorough famin he was enforced to abandon and so, to returne into Tartarie Comanie, which is beeyond the sea Maior, (called Pontus Euxinus) but at this day Zauolha and Zahady. Some doe affirme that this countrie of Comanie is that which Strabo calleth Cataonia part of Capadocia, at this day called Cricassj. The sayd Baydo was called by the Polonians, Bathy & Zaim Cham, of whom Tamberlane the great descended (as Michael a Mechou saith, who did write of these great distructions in these North Regions done by Baydo) which was in the yeere of our Lord God 1263.

To Iochy in the orient, succeeded his sonne (named

according to Hayton,) Barath, and (after *Paulus Venetus*) *Barachim*.

In the yeere of our Lord God 1250. or thereabouts at such time as king Lewes (otherwise called S. Lewes) the French king passed the seas: The king of Armenie being a christian (& named Hayton, perceiuing that the Tartaires had conquered so many countries, and were entred into Natolie, purposed to enterterne amitie and league with the said Mango Cham or Mongu; Who (as before) succeeded to his cosin Gin or Cui, son to Hoccata in the realme of Tartarie, onely to haue ayde against the Caliph of Baudraz and the Turkes of Damasco, Halap, Haman & other places: for which he sent towards him the great Constable of Armenie named Sinebaud, but the yeere after, he went in person; where he obtained such fauor with the said Mango Cham, that the same Cham receiued the holy law of the christian faith & was baptized by a Bishop being the chancellor of Armenie, with a brother also of his whom Hayton (being colen Germain of the said king of Armenie) calleth Haullon, and Paul the Venetian Allau. This Allau was sent by his brother Mango Cham with the king of Armenie aforesaid, accompanied with a mightie armie to make war on the Turkes, who passed the riuer of Tygris and tooke the realme of Persia which remayned without gouernour sithens the Corasmins had inioyed the same.

After which hee inuaded and tooke the countrie of the Assassins (whom the Latins doe call Arfacides) of which people there is much mention made in the histories of the passage of the famous *Godefride de Boillon*.

For

For which cause it cannot be much from my purpose if I declare partly wher this countrie of the Assassins lieth, and what people they be. This territorie being no great countrie is situated at the foot of the mountain Libanus towards the Orient (as Brocard the Monke affirmeth) beyond Antaradus otherwise called Tortosa, and fronteth vppon Persia towards the North (which both the said Hayton & Paul the venetian doe call Mulete.) The Lord of this countrie was called Aloadin or Aladin which signifieth Diuine or of God.

The Histories of the sayde passage doe name it *le viel de la Montaigne* (as also do Hayton and Paul the Venetian, who were then liuing.) This territorie is, as it were a plaine, enuironed round about with mountaines, into the which, was but one onelic entrie & passage: vpon the which, Aladin aforesayde caused a great fortresse to be builded named Tigado. All the sayd plaine naturally is very fertile and pleasant to the eye, by reason of the faire medowes, brookes, woods & groues, wherwith the same doth plentifully abound. Besides which naturall contents, this Aladin had furnished the said plaine euery where with beautifull Gardins, vergers, rich palaces, and houses of pleasure, in most sumptuous wise that could be deuised; and therewith caused the same to be enhabited with the sayrest young men & women of the best faces that any where he could finde. For which purpose too he waged certaine soldiors, to awaite and watch the getting of such young men and beautifull women. Hayton saith that this Aladin cared for no manner of Religion. Paul the Venetian sayeth that hee was a Mahemetist.

F.ii.

When

When Aladin had thus surprised any young man, hee was brought to this castle of Tigado, and within a litle time on some faire day when the sunne dyd shine verie cleere, one should come and bring this man (thus taken) a drinke, which would enforce him so strongly to sleepe; that he should so remaine a very long space without any manner of moouing or feeling as though he were plainly dead. Than would he cause him to be borne into this vallie and so thorough his faire palaices and gardens among his beautifull women, and withall, to be clothed in rich apparell. So as, whan hee waked hee found himselfe an other man, & as though comde into a new world. In such his galantrie, hee was straight wayes enterteynged feasted with the Ladies there, and wonderfullie welcommed, with the shew of all manner of pastimes and trayned to all kinde of pleasures: which youth and lust could desire, and this so long as all that day would endure. At night after a certain banquet prepared, whervpon to repast, the like drink as before, to make him sleepe, againe was giuen him. Thus being made to sleepe; his sumptuous apparel was taken of, & his former garments put on, & so brought againe into the said fortresse from whence he went, and into such place as might be much vnlike to that which he had beene before. So as vpon his awaking, he should soone perceiue himselfe in an obscure & euill sented old chamber cleane chaunged, from the place, where he could not but remember he had beene before. When Aladin vpon conference with him, would declare that the place where hee had beene was Paradise, and that it was in his power to send him thether whan hee would, if therefore the young man had minde to

con-

continue such blessednesse for euer it was graunted vpon condition that he would take courage and hardinesse to aduenture his life and to die for him in such seruice as vpon occasion hee would commaund. To which numbers of young men for recouerie of that felicitie and Paradise whereof before they had tasted, would soone giue their consent, as not esteeming any aduenture dangerous whereby to atteigne that which hee most desired, when Aladin to make these men the more feruent to execute his desires would cause them sundrie times to bee had to these places of pleasure and to tast thereof as beefore: And thus serued this pestilent *Viel de la Montaigne* for sending abroad his wicked Ministers to murder and kill Princes euen in their owne houses, who cared not of the losse of their owne liues in executing their dampnable purposes, so that they might atteigne their vain Paradise as they expected, before hand promised by Aladin. Of this pernicious band, were those *Assassines*, that had almost killed Richard King of England in his owne Palliō being in the holy land, one of which likewise murdered at *Sur*, *Conrade* the *Contee* of *Montferrat*; and an other that valiaunt *Contee* of *Tripoly* in his owne house, whereby I thinke the Italians doe call those to be *Assassins*. which we in our French tongue doe call Brigans, that is to say, spoylers and cut-throtes.

The saide Allau therefore besieged the same stronge fortresse of *Tigado*; where before he could get the same hee dyd lye there in siege the space of three yeeres. Hayton sayeth hee beesieged it by the space of seauē and twentie yeeres and in the ende for want and lacke of clothes to couer theyr bodyes ( though they had

F.iii.

victu-

viſtualls ynough) the Soldiours defendaunts yeelded the caſtle which afterward was razed and laide leuell with the earth: while the ſiege thus continued *Allau* returned into *Perſia*, & king *Hayton* into *Armenye*.

In the yeere of our Lord God 1255. *Allau* with the king of *Armenie* returned and came againſt the Caliph of *Baudraz*, where they beſieged him in *Baudraz*, which in the ende they tooke, with the Caliph alſo, and all his treaſure, being of an ineſtimable value. Which treaſure whan *Allau* had ſeene, he demaunded of the Caliph, why hee dyd not therewith, leaue & wage ſoldiours for his owne defence, conſidering his ſo great meanes. Wherevnto the Caliph answered; that vnto that time, hee alwayes ſuppoſed, his owne ſubiects had bene ſufficient ynough to haue reſiſted any torreine enemy, which *Allau* vnderſtanding, immediatly cauſed all that treaſure to bee had into a tower and the Caliph there to bee ſet in the middeſt of the ſame treaſure, prohibiting that any ſhould giue him eyther meate or drinke, whereby hee miſerably dyed thorough famin in the middle of his riches. And thus ended the Empire of the Caliphes of *Baudraz* which vnto that time had endured aboute ſixe hunderd yeeres.

THE yeere of our Lord 1260. *Allau* and the King of *Armeny* againe did aſſemble their armies in the plains of *Rohaiz*, to the ende to recouer the Citie of *Hieruſalem* and the reſidue of the holy land. Who when they had taken the tower of *Rohaiz*, they remoued to *Alep*, which was rendered to them, the ninth day after the beſieging thereof, though the caſtle of *Alep* held forth vnto the eleuenth day after that they beſieged the Citie  
of

of *Damaſco*, which alſo was rendered where the *Souldains* of theſe two places, beeing taken priſoners, were ſent into *Perſia* with theyr Wiues and Children.

The Prince of *Antioche* at that time was called *Raymonde de Auſtriche*, that married the daughter of the ſayde King *Hayton* of *Armenie*, to whome were giuen backe all the landes and territories which the *Turkes* before had bereft him. And to the ſayde king of *Armenie* was giuen the ſayde towne of *Alep* and other places which were frontering and nigh to his dominions.

Howbeit, as *Allau* was nigh to *Hyeruſalem*, there came intelligence that his brother *Mango* was dead: Wherevpon *Allau*, purpoſing to depart into *Tartarie*, laſt in *Sury* with the king of *Armenie*, a nephew of his called *Guibogan* (named by *Sabellicus*, *Garbocao*, and by others *Guithboga*) with tenne thouſand horſemen. And ſo *ALLAV* departed out of *Sury* towards the towne of *Almalech* where *MANGO* deceaſed.

But there hee vnderſtood, that the *Tartaires* had choſen to theyr King another of his brotheren named *Cobila*, (whome *Paul* the *Venetian* doth call *Cublay*) with which *Cublay*, the ſayde *Paul* was verie familiar; by whome, the ſame *Paule* was ſent into *Fraunce* vnto *Pope Clement* the fourth of that name in the yeere of our Lord God 1268. at ſuch time as the *French* loſt the Empire of *Conſtantinople*, and that *Charles de Aniou* brother of the king ſainct *Lewes*, was made king of *Naples* and *Sicilie*.

F.iii.

Gui-

Guibogan pursuing his enterprife, conquered a great part of Surie, with the help of the king of Armenie. Howbeit he would not vtterly driue forth the Turks, but onely made them Tributaries. Whereby it came so to passe, that the Christians of Sydon could not there abide the Turkes to bee so nigh their neighbours, inuaded certaine villages of the Turkes, theyr neighbors being tributaries to the said Guibogan; and spoyled them and tooke prisoners of them, and draue away their cattell: Such as escaped, came to Guibogan to complaine. Who immediatly sent to the Christians at Sydon for redresse: Howbeit in stead of amendes, the Christians slew the messengers of Guibogan. Wherevpon Guibogan gathered his power against Sydon, and in the ende hee ouerthrew the wall of Sydon, and the castle of *Beaufort*, and therewith also did set a side a great part of the amitie that beefore hee dyd beare to the Christians of Surie.

The Christians in Surie, being thus at dissention with Guibogan who also was a christian, and come vnto their aide: the Souldan of Egypt named *Cathos*, and surnamed Melechmees, that is to say, a King of people, made wars vpon Guibogan, so that in a battell, Guibogan was ouerthrowen and flaine, wherby the countrie of Surie remayned vnder the obedience of the said Melechmees sauing certaine townes which the christians kept still; in the yeere of our Lord 1274.

At which time the towne of Damasco was shamefully lost and betrayed and sold by a *Sarazine* that had the same in garde, to Melechmees. Allau, this while being in Persia, and aduertised of this ouerthrow of Guibo-

Guibogan and the victory of Melechmees, & thereof giuing intelligence to the kinges of Armenie, & Georgie, he raised a great army, that ioyning with the forces of these two kings, he purposed to haue entred into Surie, to haue recouered that which there was lost, and being in readines to haue set forward, hee was sodainely taken with sickness, wherof within a while after he died.

Abagan sonne of Allau succeeded his father & would not become a Christian, as his father was, but rooke vpon him the superstition of the sect of Mahumet, and made wars vpon his neighbours, whereby the power and might of the Souldans of Egypt began menaillously to augment and encrease, in so much as Bendecar otherwise called Bendecadar whom Hayton calleth *Benedecar*, and by himselfe named *Melchidac* which signifies the abundant or puissant king, being Souldan of Egypt, did winne the citie of Antioch vpon the christians, with sundry other townes, and after allied himselfe with the Tarrates of *Cilicie* and *Cappadocia*, & after inuaded *Armenia*, during such time as king Hayton the king of *Armenia* was iournied and gone to *Abnarch* towards *Cubila* or *Gublay* thm. The two sons of the king of *Armenia*, vpon such inuasions made by the Souldan, encountered the Souldan with a great Armie, which consisted of twelue thousand horsemen, & forie thousand footmen: howbeit the Souldan ouerthrew them & did winne the field with the slaughter of one of those sons of the king of *Armenia*, & the other son led captiue into Egypt. Hayton hearing of this ouerthrow hastily returned into *Armenia*, & perceiving that he could not haue aide of Abagan to redress his iniurie, he proceeded

gracious) these two, so worthely behaued themselves with their battails against the like number of Sarazines, that those Sarazins were vanquished and put to flight. The meane time, Mangodanior who had no manner of experience (as it seemed) in wars, without giueing any manner of charge vpon the enemy, which towards him was readie to encounter against him, hee gaue himselfe shamefully to flie, & staid not a whit vntill he came to the river of Euphrates which they call Euphra, though hee was not pursued or chased at all by the third battell of the Sarazins, which consisted of those people called Beduins: who in the holy Scripture are named Madiani or Madianites, and to succour their companions that were ouerthrowen and fled, followed their fellows so fast as they could; but the next day, when king Thyuon and Achmet were returned from the chase to Hames, & perceiuing that Mangodanior was in such order departed, they followed him, and ouertooke him at the saide river; and instantly required him to returne, declaring to him how they had won the battaile & put the Sarazins to flight, but for any thing they could say or alledge he would not returne but immediatly retired towards his brother into Persia, about the yeere of our Lord God 1282 Abagan being not a little displeased with the flight and cowardnesse of his brother, was purposed to haue gone in his owne person against the Souldain, howbeit he was enpoisoned by a *Sarazin* and died leuing behinde him two sonnes, the one named Argon and Ragait.

Tangodor neuertheless succeded to his brother Abagan being elected by Tartares to be their king, his Tangodor

godor was sometime a christian, and at the time of his baptisme hee was named Nicolas, but through his too much keping companie with *Sarazins*, he became a Mahomatist and was named Mahumet, he caused to be destroyed & ouerthrowen all the churches of the Christians within his dominions, and entered in amitie and league with Melechsayt *Souldan* of *Egypt*, wherefore one of his owne bretheren together with his saide nephew Argon, accused him before Cobila Cham of the aforesaid crimes, wherevpon Cobila Cham sent him word and commaunded him to amend and redresse those injuries which he had done and from thence forth to liue in a better sort, or otherwise he would extremely punish him: but Tangodor, nothing amended with this aduertisement from Cobila Cham, in dispiight, he caused his saide brother to be apprehended, and to be put to death. Howbeit his nephew Argon, vpon this escaped from him, and fled to the mountaines, and after, with the aid and helpe of his friends and seruants of Abagan his saide father, he surprised and tooke Tangodor and caused him to be sawen in sunder in the middle after that he had reigned three yeeres in the yeere of grace 1283.

Argon after that hee had put to death Tangodor his vnckle was elected king, but hee would neuer accept the name and title of Cham without the leaue of Cobila who perceiuing the same gladly thereto did condescend. This Argon was a christian and caused to be re-edified & repaired the Churches which his vnckle wickedly before had destroyed. He was visited by the kings of Armenia and Georgia to whom hee promised hee would goe with them to recover the holy land, but the

ded no father but fell to composition; with the Souldan Melechdaer, and rendred to him the towne of Alep with Sangolassar a nigh kinsman of the said Souldan for the recouerie of his said sonne, being prisoner as aforesaid, who vpon the same conclusions was accordingly redeliuered to his said father. King Hayton vpon the returne of the same his sonne did crowne him king of Armenia, whose name was Thyuon; & after that Hayton entred into religion, and named himselfe Macarie, which signifieth blessed, whē he had reigned ouer the Armenians fortie & five yeeres, & died soone after; howbeit afore he died he pacified king Abagan with his neighbours the yeere of Grace 1273.

After the death of king Hayton, Melechdaer that had conquered Antioche & Cilicia, purposing further to enter into Natolye where were sundrie gouernours & Captains of the Tartares being subiect to Abagan, among whom there was a Sarazin named Paruana, who had secret conference with y<sup>e</sup> Soldan Melechdaer, wherof Abagan getting intelligence, raised a great army, and marched towards the Souldan, which the Souldan vnderstanding, the Soldan would not abide with buffered, & Abagan folowed him into Egypt, so far as he could for the great heats of the countrie, which enbarred him to proceede any further, neuertheles in this chase he ouerthrew moe than twentie thousand horsemen portaining to the said Souldan; and after Abagan returned into Natolie, & took Paruana, & caused him to be sawed in sunder with a sawe after the manner that the Tartares doe vse, & so to be cutting gobbets & peeces, wherewith they being serued at their table, they did rage & reioyce as long as

as the same meat endured.

After that Abagan, had thus set in quietnesse the countrie of Natolie, hee offered to giue the same to King Thyuon of Armenia, but hee durst not receiue the same, through feare of the Souldan of Egypt, in excusing curteously himselfe & aleding that the realme of Armenia was big inough for him to gouerne, so that to haue greater dominions were but further troubles to him, & therefore most hartely he thanked him of his most gentle offer, which he was bounden to remember vpon due occasion, vpon which refusall Abagan committed the gouernance & regement of Natolye to sundrie of his owne Captains, among the which one named Orhoman was one, from whom the Princes of the Turks, that presently reigne, are descended.

Abagan returned into Persia, wher he staid a certaine time, and in the meane season he was stirred by the said king Thiun of Armenia to make war vpon the Soldan of Egypt, named Melechsayt (that is to say the king desired) who succeeded next to Melechdaer & molested the said king Thiun: for which cause Abagan did send Mangodanior his brother with thirtiethousand horsemen ioyned with the army of the same King of Armenia against the said Souldan Melechsayt, and came before the towne of Hames, where they found encamped the armie of the Sarazins, and therevpon each side preparing to fight, they ordered their armie, and deuided them into three battelles, whereof the one was vnder the leading of Mangodanior, the second was guided by King Thiun, and the third by a Captaine Tartarian named Abnech or Achmat, (which signifieth G.i.j. gracious



gracious) these two, so worthely behaued themselves with their battails against the like number of Sarazins, that those Sarazins were vanquished and put to flight. The meane time, Mangodanior who had no manner of experience (as it seemed) in wars, without giueing any manner of charge vpon the enemye, which towards him was readie to encounter against him, hee gaue himselfe shamefully to flie, & staied not a whit vntill he came to the riuer of Euphrates which they call Euphra, though hee was not pursued or chased at all by the third battell of the Sarazins, which consisted of those people called Beduins: who in the holy Scripture are named Madiani or Madianites, and to succour their companions that were ouerthrowen and fled, followed their fellowes so fast as they could; but the next day, when king Thyuon and Achmet were returned from the chase to Hames, & perceiuing that Mangodanior was in such order departed, they followed him, and ouertooke him at the saide riuer; and instantly required him to returne, declaring to him how they had won the battaile & put the Sarazins to flight, but for any thing they could say or alledge he would not returne but immediatly retired towards his brother into Persia, about the yeere of our Lord God 1282 Abagan being not a little displeased with the flight and cowardnesse of his brother, was purposed to haue gone in his owne person against the Souldain, howbeit he was enpoisoned by a *Sarazin* and died leuing behinde him two sonnes, the one named Argon and Ragait.

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meane time he died, as one that had not the leasure to performe that worthie promise, after that he had reigned three yeeres, at such time as Melechnazer Souldan of Egypt florished.

After Argon, succeeded Ragayt his brother, called by Sabellicus Queghat, and by others, Tagadayt, a man most vnprofitable to rule without either faith or law, hated of his owne, and vtterly abhorred of straungers, he had a son named Cassan Baydo or Bathy and according to Sabellicus called Bandon, and had a cosen also called Cassan which succeeded him anno domino 1290. This said Cassan Baydo was a christian, and honoured the Churches of God, and prohibited that none should speake of Mahumet, which those that followed the sect, tooke it in meruailous euill part, and secretly aduertised the said Cassan or Assan which was sonne to the saide Argon that if hee would forsake the christian faith being also a christian, they would proclayme him king, vnto whom this Cassan, son to Argon accorded, & vnder this promise & hope Cassan son to Argon raised war against his cosen Baydo, which Baydo hearing gathered his power together & encountred Cassan; & ioyning in battell Baydo was shamefully forsaken by his owne subiects being *Mahometists*, that reuolted to the part of Cassan, & so Baydo ther was slaine.

After the death of Baydo, Cassan was called king, but at the first, he durst not declare what was resting secretly in his mind against those who brought him to this dignity by the meanes abouesayde. Howbeit when he thought himselfe assured and confirmed in his regall authoritie, hee began first to shew himselfe a friend to christians, and

and then hee commaunded to bee put to death those who counsailed him to desie the christian faith.

And after he addressed an armie against the Souldan of Egypt & the Sarazins of the which his purpose Cassan aduertised the kings of Armenia & Georgie, who with their armies came & ioyned with him at Bindras, and from thence marched to the towne of Hames which is situated in the midst of Sury, where the Souldan of Egypt called Melechseraph who had chased the christians out of Sury came against them with a great army & encamped in a great medow, thereby supposing to haue surprized the christians, and albeit he found the christians partlie in disorder, and so gaue charge vpon them, yet Cassan with the rest of the christians so manfully fought it out, that in the end the Souldan was there vanquished & put to flight: this battell was fought the seauenth day before Christmas day in the yeere of our Lord God 1300 At which battell the said Hayton (that was cosen to the king of Armenia) saith that he was present, & did put the acts & doings of the same in writing. Cassan pursuing his victorie marched vnto the towne of Casana, where the Souldan had lodged a mighty deale of his treasure, in so much as Cassan tooke the towne with all that treasure there, & meruailed greatly what the Souldan meant that in going to the wars he would bring so much treasure with him, which treasure Cassan tooke, and deuided it among his souldiours. After that he marched to the citie of Damasco which was rendred to him, where he found that Citie was no otherwise furnished but onely with victuall very plentifully, where the whole army of Cassan staid forty five daies, leauing fortie thousand horsemen

under the leading of their Captaine Molay which pursued after the *Souldan*. *Hayton* not a little meruayleth that in so little as this Cassan was, were resident so many vertues and valiaunt courage, though among thirtie thousand men, ther vvas not a worle shaped and deformed person then he vvas.

Cassan being at Damasco, he receiued intelligence that one of his Colens named Baydo vvas entred into Persia vvith a great army, to invade him. For vvich cause he returned into Persia to encounter Baydo, leaving behind him in *Sury*, one called Molay vvith twenty thousand horsemen and at Damasco a *Sarazins* named Capehach to bee generall of the same, vvho sometime before vvas in meruailous fauour vvith the *Souldan* of Egypt & through certaine displeasures betvvixt them revolted from the *Souldan*, and to obtaine his fauour againe this Capehach shamefully tendred to the *Souldan* the towne of Damasco, and other tovvnes therevnto adioyning.

Molay thus perceiuing vvhole *Sury* stirred vp into rebellion, he vvithdrew and retired himselfe into Mesopotamia, and after gaue intelligence to Cassan of the troubles of Syria, who purposed the next winter ensuing, to retourne into Syria because through the feruent heat of the sommer then present there was noe grasse or other feeding for horses, howbeeit the meane time Cassan sent an other Captaine named Cotuloze otherwise called Caroloze vvith thirtie thousand horsemen giuing him also in charge, to aduertise immediately the king of Armenia, and other christian Princes nigh to him adioyning of the iourney, who vpon the intelligence

gence, vvith their powers repaired and chiefly Thyuon king of Armenia, Emery of Lusignen king of Cypres, the maister of the hospitall of Saint Iohns Hierusalem, named brother Guillaude Villaret, and the Maister of the Templars, vvho all arriued by sea, at the towne of Sur, and from thence marched vvith their armie, to the towne of Tortosa aunciently called Antaradus: But the meane time Cassan fell sicke of a greuous disease, that so as these wars for this time, proceeded no further, and euery of the saide princes vvith their powers returned home into their countries.

Two yceeres after Cassan determining to retorne in to Surie, againe gaue intelligence of his purpose to the king of Armenia, & that he should meete him at the river of Euphrates, vvhere he and his armie should abide for him, vvich armie of his, was so great, that the same occupied the grounds of three daies iourney in length. And as Cassan entred into *Sury* the said Baydo invaded the kingdome of Persia againe, out of the vvich, before Cassan sundry times had chased him, & therefore Cassan made towards him, vvith so much expedition as hee could, leaving Cotuloze vvith the king of Armenia and forty thousand horsemen, to proceede in warres against the *Souldan*, vvho marched forward & toke the townes of Hames, and from thence went & besieged Damasco, vvhere, Cotuloze and the king of Armenia had intelligence, how that the *Souldan* came to raze their siege: vvherefore they leaving certaine bandes to continue their siege, vvith the rest of their armie, they marched towards the *Souldan*, & finding him so strongly encamped in such a place vvhere they could doe him small

H.

harne:

*The Mahumetane*

harne, and that the Tartares through scarcety of fresh water, departed from them by troopes: Cotuloz and the king of Armenia returned to their siege of Damasco, whereas in one night after, the waters about Damasco, began in such sort suddenly to grow, & that the Sarazins thereabouts brake in funder the Sluses; that in lesse space then an houre, all the places where the army of the Tartares and christians encamped, was drowned and ouerflowen with water, which through the sodaine coming of the flud, and the darknesse of the night, was the more dreadfull to the whole armie, as those that did not fore-see that water and inconuenience, whereby many of the Tartares there were drowned, as ignorant of the passages to escape, considering the dikes that inclosed the place of their encamping were both deepe and filled with the ouerflow of this water, so as a great number of the horses of the Tartares there likewise perished, and all their baggage likewise: so as they that escaped had none other minde but in hast to retourne home into their countrey: and the truth to say, they being thus turmoyled with waters, they were not good or meete to abide any fight.

Considering aswell their bowes as arrowes (which are the chiefeest weapons that they doe vse) were all to wet, and made vnprofitable thereby to serue: so as if the Sarazines that were very nigh them, had in this disorder given charge vpon the Tartares, they might haue had a right good market on them: Howbeit, the Sarazines as it seemed durst not issue vpon

on them: so as the Tartares had leasure enough to escape, who stayed not much untill they came to the riuer of Euphrates which they passed according to their custome (for Michaell de Michou sayeth, that euery of them that had a horse did packe and fasten his wife children and baggage vpon the horse, and than the husband would take the taile of the horse fast in his hand: and in swimming, the horse brought them all, so to land, and thus, they vsed to passe riuers, were they neuer so great or broad.

The Armenians and Georgians that were, in this army were enforced to retire, as the Tartares did, though a great number of them also perished & were drowned, and durst not abide, through the great doubt, they had of the Sarazines.

Hayton the Historiographer being an Armenian borne, saith, that hee himselfe among others was in this army, when this departure chaunced, and alledgeth, that the whole fault of this disorder and departure was in Cotuloz, that would not bee aduised by the King of Armenia, but onely would follow his owne wilfull braine: But the King of Armenia marched on to the Citie of Niniue (which standeth on the riuer of Tygris,) called by Eusebius, Nicibis, vvhich most curteously hee was receued by king Cassan, and at his departure Cassan commaunded tenne thousand horsemen, paid at his owne charges, not onely to attend and conduct the King of Armenia, into Armenia: but there to abide at the kings appointment, to garde and defend the dominions of Armenia: vnto

H.ij.

such

such time, as hee the same Cassan could conueniently raise an other army to returne againe in person against the Souldain of Egypt, but (alas to the great infortunity of christendome) this valiant Cassan dyed soone after.

Some doe suppose that of him Sury, toke the name of Azamie, for that the Turks call Azam or Assam, Assamie: Howbeeit, it may bee, that this worde Azamie is deriued from the auncient name of Aram, son of Sem, who were sons of Noe, of whom, the same country once was named, & by the Hebrux, Aram, y is to say high or excellent, which they would pronouce *Aramie*.

After this Cassan or Assan, succeeded Carbagan, whom some doe call Cerbagat, & the Frenchmen name Corbadan son of the sayd Cassan, who also was christened & at his baptisme was named Nicolas, & so remayned a good christia man during his mothers life, but after his mothers decease, he wickedly fell into the abominable sect of Mahumet, which all his successors after him, did neuer forsake, and at this daye doe maintaine the same.

Of the said Cassan or Assan are descended the kings of Persia, who in honour of this Cassan, haue taken vpon them the Surname of Cassan; vnto Vssun Cassan of whom elsewhere we haue made mencion.

But now, we name the princes of Persia, Sophies, for that Seichayder Sophi, married the daughter of Vssun cassan, & begat vpon hir, Ismael Sophi, who reigned a little before our time, & was father to Taamar Sophi, who at this day reigneth in Persia. The Turks doe call Persia, Pharsie: and the Persians, Quezelbach: that is to say red heads, as before of them I haue spoken, which  
Persians

Persians and Turks, are perpetuall mortall enemies one against the other, & very different in opinion touching their superstitious law and beliefe.

A little beefore, I haue made mention of the beginning of the Empire of the Caliphes of Baudraz, vnto their end. Likewise of the Miramamolins vnto their deuisions, and in such sort of the Persians so much as I could get knowledge of them. Of the Othmans I haue amply inough spoken before, so as I neede not, further to entreat of them, least I should passe and exceede the measure of a Summarie or an abridgment: I haue written also of the beginning of the Empire in Egypt, & therefore now it behoueth me to shew how the same fell into the puissaunce and domination of the Mamaluchs.

In the yecere 1160. that Almery king of Hierusalem besieged the great city of Caire as before I haue spoken, the Souldain named Quare who as then was also called the Caliphe, perceiuing that he was not able to resist the christians, hee required succours at the Souldan of Halep, who sent him a Captaine named Saracon or Syracon, and by some called, Syraffon, who (by his nation) was a Corasmin: this Syracon hauing in such sort giuen aide to the *Caliph* that his countries were defended from the enemy, and therewith perceyuing how vnmeet the Caliph was to rule through his cowardnesse & to much feare in him resident, & considering also how few friends he had to leane to him, in time of necessitie, he tooke the Caliph & put him in prison wher he died, and Saracon made himselfe Souldain of Egypt. Thus the Empire of the Sarazins or Arabians was transferred into the handes of the *Corasmins* or  
Hijj. Medes.

After Melechnazer, was Souldain, Melechseraph (which word signifieth the ardent or bright Prince) who did win vpon the christians the towne of Acre in Sury in the yeere of our Lord God 1293. and chased the christians out of all Sury, which he ioyned to the kingdome of Egypt: he was the first that caused to be coined in Egypt the Ducats of Golde, which are there called Seraphes. This Soldain is named by Sabellicus and others Melecastraphus.

Thus proceeded the said Mammeluchs, to dominate and rule in Egypt, and did choose their Souldains either vpon christians that became renies or that were christians children, bought as abouesaid, and educated in that forme of religion & trained so, to the warres as aboue is declared, albeit ther were none of these Mammeluchs that durst goe alone through the city wher they were, but by expresse commandement of their Emysr, who were their superiors, they should goe two at the least together, and to bee brieft, these Mammeluchs had the authoritie and domination over all the people of Egypt & Surie, from the time they chased the christians out of Surie vntill that Selim the great Turke, as afore is mencioned, utterly ouethrew them & their name for euer.

Thus, the first of the law of Mahumet, that reigned in *Asia*, were the *Arabians*, whom the Hebreus and Suriens doe call *Saba*, and the Greeks, *Sabei*, & they themselves doe name *Sarazins*: after them, ther did the *Turquimans* or *Turkes* rule, who chased from thence the *Sarazins*: these *Turks* were *Parthians*, as Hayton doth fronter and limit them. The *Turks* likewise were driven from

from thence by the *Tartaries*, beeing *Scythians* orientall, who haue taken vpon them also the name of the *Turks* though they be none in deed, and at this present reigning vnder the name of the *Turks*, who of very truth are but *Tartaires* and *Scythians* by their discent, which, their maner of fight and weapon therewith that they vse, as their bowes made of horne, which our elders doe appoint and attribute to the *Scythians*, sufficiently doe witness. Againe the language *Tartaresque*, and the *Turks* speech, are not much different: for *Michael de Michou* saith that the *Tartars* who destroyed *Russia*, and the regions thereabouts named in their language *Tartaresque*, the tops of steeples of Churches there, *Altum Bachne*, considering those toppes of steeples were gilded: so in the *Turks* language this word *Altum Bachne* signifieth a head of gold or gilded. Wherefore according to the opinion of Authors, one may iudge that they are *Scythians* and *Tartares* to whom the name of the *Turks* are given at this day, whose elders, in that they possessed the country of *Turquestan*; of that region, they haue left the name of *Turks*, to the *Turks* that presently reigne, beeing their posteritie, which to others perhaps is vnknowne, being ignorant both of the difference of these two nations, so far of, and barbarous, and of the chaunges fortun'd in their kingdomes.

*Heere endeth the first booke.*

# To the VVorshipfull his very good

Cosen William Carr of Stafford in the county  
of Lincolne Esquire, and one in hir Maiesties  
Commission of peace there.



**S**YR, to you who are the second possessor  
of my heere expressed rich will, though  
weake power: I commend this second  
booke of my French and Italian traduc-  
tions, concerning the succession of the  
great house of Ottoman, and those their  
fortunate armes whether in offence, or  
defence taken; The rather for that your  
selfe being resident in court where this argument (by reason  
of the present Hungarian wars and the often assemblies of the  
Germaine Princes to provide some remedy for their feared  
harmes) is much spoken of, you may with others see the manner  
and growing of this continuing and admired felicitie, (heere  
by me deciphered) though the meanes how, by very few is seene,  
saue such onely as are true spectators and obseruers of high  
reaching pollicie; what my paines hath effected in this point, I  
freely giue as you may boldly challenge it for your due; who de-  
sire nothing more then euer to be found the generall and per-  
ticuler seruant of your selfe and your most worthy brothers  
true iointenants by vnderdeuided moieties (as our lawiers terme  
it) of mee and what I may, whereof the suruior whilst I sur-  
uiue may dispose of the whole: And so with all duty done which  
may be demanded of a most affectionate kinsman and seruicea-  
ble friend: I take my leaue, from the middle Temple in London  
this 20. of March 1600.

Your worships of all others  
most at command  
R. Carr.

# The second Booke

28

Of the conquests made by the Turkes, and  
the succession of the house of  
Ottoman.



**V**Supposed to haue ben acquitted &  
dispatched from your earnest suits,  
and fully to haue satisfied your de-  
maunds, to the best of my know-  
ledge and power, touching the af-  
fares and matters concerning the  
Turks. Now you desire of me their  
progresse, and continuances, as it  
were from the father to the sonne, how they haue pro-  
ceeded & attained vnto the conquests of so many regi-  
ons, which at this day they possesse and keepe: Yet you  
consider litle the affaires, wherwith I am continually oc-  
cupied, nor the imbecillitie of my memorie, that so rede-  
ly should write vnto you a Historie of matters that haue  
passed two hundred yeeres & more in Countries, so far  
of & sundry, full of vocables & names, both right strange  
and different, from our vulgar language. Wherefore in  
this request, if I satisfie you not in such good sort as your  
desire, yet you ought to accept my paines in good part,  
for be it well or euill, it bechoueth mee to doe as you  
will haue me.

In the yeere of our lord God one thousand & three hū-  
dred, at such time, as the Emperour Henry, the seuenth  
of that name, purposed to renew in Italie the partialities  
& diuisions of the *Guelfes* & *Gibelins* (at which time al-  
so reigned in France *Philip le Bel*,) there were in *Natolie*  
or Asia the lesse, certaine Captaines of the Turkes (wher

I.ii.

this



## Of the conquests and succession

this nation had continued euer since the passage and famous journey of *Godefroy de Bologne*, duke of Bouillon, and there had remained, euer since the time that they presented themselves against the army of the christians, before the citie of *Nice*, which we may name *Victoire* anciently called *Antigonia*, vnder their valiant generall named *Solyman* or *Soleyman*. After which, passed an hundred yeeres & more, that not any did speake of this Nation, vnto such time (as I haue said) there were in *Natolie* sundry Captaines among the which, more famous than the rest, were *Othman*, *Caraman*, and *Affan* or *Azam*, called by way of dignitie *Begy* or *Bey*, which is as much, as *Seigneur* or *Monsieur*, & in our English tongue *Lord*, howbeit the *Turks* doe abstract and withdraw from this word *Begy*, this letter *y*, and so doe call them *Othmanbeg*, *Caramanbeg*, & *Affambeg*. *Othmanbeg* (who was very valiant and a man of great actiuitie) allied himselfe with two *Greeks* *Romez*, and a third being a *Turke* borne, the one of these *Greeks* was called *Michali*, & the other *Marco*. Of the saide *Michali*, are discended the *Michalogli* of whom, there continue some at this day, as likewise such of the lignage of *Marco*, who are named *Marcozogli*, the *Turke* was named *Aramy*, of the race of whom, called *Auramogly*, none can be found, that any knoweth: the successours of this *Auramy*, are accounted and reputed to bee of the bloud royall of the *Turks*, and to them, the Empire of the *Turks* should appertain, if euer the *Othmans* line should be extinguished. With the helpe & aid of these three, *Othmanbag* aforelaid became of meruailous credit & puissance, in such sort as he conquered sundry cities & townes situated vpon the sea side of *La Mer*

*Maieur*

## of the house of Ottoman. 29

*Maieur* otherwise called in latin *Pontus Euxinus*, & among them the towne of *Synas* which the *Greeks* call *Sebasie* was one, which is named by vs, in fraunce *Auguste*. *Caraman* did draw himselfe towards *Cilicia*, where he rested, & called that region according to his owne name *Caramania*. *Affan* repaired into *Persia*, which the *Turks* do call *Pharsie*, as also into *Assiria* which according to his name, he caused to be called *Azanie*. These last two and their successours haue euer since beene vnmercifully persecuted by *Othman* and his posteritie: In such sort, as vterly they haue destroyed *Caraman* his bloud, & gotten his countries. But *Affambeg* notwithstanding (which is called the *Sophi*) right valiantlie doth defend his owne, and liuerh in continuall warres and enmetie with the *Othmans*. This *Othman* reigned twentie and eight yeeres vnto the beginning of the reigne of *Phillippe de Vallois* the french King. Which *Othman* was so surnamed of a certaine towne or castle called *Othmanach* situated in *Natoly* betwixt *Synope* and *Trebisonde* the famous cities, and left a sonne named *Orcan*, who succeeded his father in his dominions.

*Orcan* the sonne of *Othman* married the daughter of *Caramanbeg*, and after made cruell war vpon him, causing to bee put to death his eldest sonne brother to his wife, whom before hee had taken in battaile: he tooke also the citie of *Bursie*, which the auncients named *Prussias*. At this very same time *Andronico Paleologo*, then Emperour of Constantinople dieng, did leaue his sonnes named *Caloian* and *Andronico* vnder the gouernance & regiment of *Iohn Catacusen*, who though hee very prudently, behaued himselfe during the time of this his re-

*liii.*

giment,

giment, yet through the malice of the *Patriarch*, and of an other person of base conditions and birth (howbeit of meruailous credit after with the Emperour) *Catacusan* was expelled, who notwithstanding found the meane, after, to returne againe to Constantinople more strong than beefore, and for the more assurance of himselfe, he caused his daughter to be giuen in mariage to the young Emperour *Caloiary*: howbeit they could not so long remaine in concorde, but that the Emperour secretly departed to the Isle of Tenedo, where an army of the *Geneuois* to the number of threescore Gallies came to succour him, who brought him backe to Constantinople and chased from thence *Catacusan*. Now he immediatly repaired for aide to the *Venetians*, through whose help retourning home assailed the army of the *Geneuois* riding with their Gallies in the Canall of Constantinople aunciently called *Propontis*: howbeit the victorie remained to the *Geneuois*, and the Citie with *Caloiary*, who in recompence of their worthy seruice, rewarded them and their Captaine named *Francis Cataluz*, with the gift of the Isle of *Methelin*, in times past named *Lesbos*: Who continued the possession thereof vnto the time that *Mahumet* the second did winne the same from *Nicolas Cataluz* the last Duke thereof: This little deuision engendred after most cruell wars betwixt the *Geneuois* and the *Venetians*: which as it brought the Citie of *Venice* to such extremety, that it seemed readie to render it selfe to the mercy of the *Geneuois*, so in the ende it was cause by the alteration of fortune that the *Geneuois* (becing in sundry fights and conflicts on the seas after ouerthrowen by the

*Venetians*

*Venetians*) came to miserable ruine and seruitude, for thereby they were enforced to yeelde themselves, to the Archbishop of *Milane* whom they made gouernour of their Citie of *Geanes*, and to sell all their lands and Seigneuries to the communaltie and brotherhood of Saint George, which is within their Citie, and lastly to submit themselves to the french Kinges protection vnder whose subiection they remained a while, vntill hee gaue them to *Iohn Duke of Calabre* sonne to *Reignard* King of the realme of *Naples*, vntill they reuoluted to *Philippe Duke of Milane*, whom in the end they forsooke to, in such sort as (through their inconstancie,) they did not know well, to what good Saint, to vow themselves: howbeit the greatest mitchiefe was, that this forenamed warres gaue an vndoubted occasion to the vtter losse of *Surie* & the realme of *Hierusalem* (& what was worse then that) the same opened to the Turks, the gate and entry to *Greece* and other parts of *Europe*, as heereafter I shall declare, all which was about the time that *Lewes de Bauiere*, & *Frederic of Austrich* contended about the obtaining of the Empire of *Alemaign*. The said *Orcan* reigned two & twenty yeres vnto the beginning of the reigne of *Iohn* the french king which was in the yeere of our Lord God 1350. leauing behinde him his sonne *Amurath*.

*Amurath* (whom the *Hungarians* and the *Sclauones* doe call *Ammarat*, and the *Turkes* *Moratbeg* which is as much to say, as the Lord *Morat*, (but *Frossart* supposing to pronounce this name, as they doe, calleth him *Lamorabaquin*,) entred to his dominions when as *Catacusan*, pursued the Emperour his sonne

in



Despot: what  
it meaneth.

Bulgarie

in law, through the aide of *Marc Carleuich* the Despot of *Bulgaria*: this word *Despot* is so much to say in our English tongue as Prince or Lord: and the Prouince of *Bulgaria* is that Country which anciently was named *Gata* and *Gepide*. This *Amurath* was secretly fauored among certaine of the Nobility of *Grecia*, whom the Emperour *Caloian* hated, who finding that hee was to weake, to encounter with the Nobilitie that reuolted, hee was constrained to demaund and require aide of *Amurath*, who forthwith sent him twelue thousand horsemen, through whose help, when the Emperour had pacified his affaires, hee gaue the *Turks* leaue to returne home. But they hauing scene & tasted the sweetnesse & beautie of the region of *Grecia*, after their intearne perswaded (as it was easie to doe) *Amurath* to goe in person to inuade *Grecia*. Which he so did, who accompanied with threescore thousand men, by the help of two great ships of the *Genenois* (among whom he bestowed a threescore thousand ducats) *Amurath* passed the famous straits called by the ancients, *Hellepontus*: (and now the straits of *Calipoli* or the *Castells* by reason of two castells whereof the one is situated in *Asia*, and the other in *Europ*) wherin ancient time were also the townes of *Sestus* and *Abydos*. The french doe call these straits *Le Bras de Saint George*, Saint Georges arme, where the said *Amurath* wan the towne of *Calipoli* beeing on this side those straits in *Grecia*, & than tooke *Adrianople* and *Philippopoli* aunciently called *Olympias*. and so ouerran the Prouince of *Romany*, in times past called *Thracia*, vnto the Mountaine *Rhodope*, which the Greekes doe name *Βασιλίσσα* the Queene and Lady of those Mountaines, which

which some also do call, the mountaine of Siluer by reason of the mines of siluer that are found in the same: and after ouercame in battaile the aforenamed *Marc Carleuich* taking prisoner the *Conte Lazaro* of *Serua*, which is *Misia Inferior*, (whom *Froffart* calleth *Le Conte de Lazaran*) whose head hee smote off, which was when Charles the fourth was letted from resisting the sonnes of the Emperour *Leues* of *Bauer* to defend himselfe against *Frederic Marquize* of *Misne* & the Countie of *Wittenberg* his competitors, leauing the Empire after him to his sonne *Lancelot*, who sold the Cities and Segneuries of Italy (as *Milane*) to the family of the viconts and others. In the ende *Amurath* was slaine by a seruant of the said *Conte Lazaro* as reuenging the death of his late Maister, the yeere of our Lord God 1373 after that hee had reigned 23 yeeres, about the beeginning of the reigne of Charles the fifth the french king, and left two sonnes *Pasait* and *Seleyman*. *Pasait* or *Bisait* as the *Turks* doe name him, who neuer pronounce this letter *P*. (and called by *Froffart* *le Roy Basant*, sonne of *Lamorabaquin* and sometime *Amorabaquin*, according to his fathers name *Enguerran* & Maister *Nicolas Gles* that collected the *Annales* of Fraunce call him the king *Basacq*. This *Pasait* was hardy, diligent and very courageous, he slew in battaile *Marc Carleuich*, where with him the whole Nobilitie of *Serua* and *Bulgaria* ended their liues, and after did ouerrun the territories of *Theffalia* and *Macedonia*, now called *Thumnettie* and *Albanie*; He wasted whole *Grecia* vnto *Athenis* which at this day is called *Cethine* and spoiled the territories of *Bosna* (which is called *Misia Superior*), *Crocia* and *Sclauonie* (that are named aunciently *Dalmatia* and *Liburnia*

K.

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*burnia*) and this at that time when the Emperour *Lancelot* sonne of Charles the fourth liued so vertuouslie, that his subiects sundry times did enprison him, but in the end was deposed by the *Alemans*, who elected at one time two Emperours, the one called *Joc* Nephew to *Lancelot*, and the other Robert of *Bauiere* otherwise called *Ruebrecht* which is interpreted in their *Alleman* language *Trouble Peace*. But to returne to *Bazait*, who then inuaded *Hungary*, & there ouerthrew king *Sigismond*, (that afterward was Emperour of *Alleman*, called by the Historiographer *Engerrant de Mountralet*, *Sagimont*) in the renowned battaile of *Nicopoli*: the cause of the losse wherof was, for that the french men ther seruing would not bee aduised by the king *Sigismond*, nor frame themselves according to the pollicie of these wars as the *Allemans* also counsailed them, the which *Frossart* imputeth likewise to the orgulitie and pride of the french, where was taken prisoner the Conte of *Neuers*, *John* who afterward vvas Duke of *Burgoign* sonne of *Philippe* the first duke, *Philip Darthois*, Conte de Eue constable of Fraunce. *John le Maingre* called *Boucicault* and sundrie others beeing men of estimation to the number of seauen or eight, vvhó all vvere sent to *Bursie*; the rest of that nacion vvere slayne to the number of a thousand horsemen.

This battaile was foughten on Michaelmas euen Anno Domini 1396 and these prisoners, vvere after redeemed for no little ransome, in expedition vvhich of great dilligence vvas vsed by one *James Hely* a gentleman of *Picardie*, vvhó also vvas taken prisoner among them,

them, and beefore had serued in the Court of *Amorabaguin*. After this battaile, *Bazait* besieged the Citie of *Constantinople*, and had wonne it, if it had not beene that into *Natolie* was entered the great Prince of *Tartary* called *Tamerlaine* or *Tamburlaine*, (but by the *Turkes* *Demirling*,) and by some French Historiographers (as *Enguerrant*) named *Le Grant Tacon de Tartarye*, but the *Tartariens* themselves doe call him *Temircutlu*, that is to say, the *Fortunate Smeord* or luckie iron, descended of the race of one *Cham* of *Tartarie* called *Zaym Cham*, of the Horde or multitude of *Zauolba* and *Czahaday*, which is towards the riuer of *Rha* or *Volha*, which falleth into the Sea *Dabacuth*, by the latins named *Mare Caspium* and *Hircanum*, which *Zaym* was he whom the *Polonians* doe call in their Histories *Bathy*, the first *Mahumotist* of all the *Tartares*. *Tamerlaine*, was afterward Lord of *Tartarie Prescopie*, called by them *Prezelzoph*, situated betwixt the riuers of *Tanas* which they call *Don*, and *Boristhenes* called *Niper* and *Dereoz*, the which countrie of *Prescopie* was in auncient time called *Scythia Inferior*, now in possession of the *Turke*. This *Tamerlayne* was for the most part resident in the great Citie of *Samarcand*, which is toward the sea *Caspium*, who caused himselfe to bee called the Scourge of God, though his verie title of his dignitie was *Pluchan*, which is to say, the mightie Lord.

*Bazait* hauing intelligence of the entrie of *Tamerlayne* into *Natoly*, thought it requisit to raise his siege of *Constantinople*, and with all diligence, to encounter with the innumerable army of *Tamerlayne*, where nigh the city of *Dangory*, by our ancients called *Ancira* (not

## Of the conquests and succession

far from the mountaine *Stella*, which *Enguerrant de Monstrelet*, doth call *Appadi*, where *Pompeius Magnus* overthrew the famous *Mithridates*,) the mighty armies encountered, and cruelly did fight, in which conflict *Bazait* was vanquished and taken prisoner, whom *Tamerlaine* caused to be bound and made fast with chaines of gold, and so to be put in a cage as though hee had beene a Lyon, in which sort hee carried *Bazait* about with him, through euery region of Asia as he passed, so long as *Bazait* liued, which was not aboue two yeeres after or thereabouts, who died Anno Domini 1400 after he had reigned twentie seauen yeeres, about the twentieth yeere of the reigne of Charles the sixth the french king. From this conflict escaped certaine of *Bazait*s sons, who supposing to haue passed into Europe, chanced to fall into the hands of the Emperour of Constantinople who caused the seas rarely to be kept at that time. An other of his sonnes named *Cyris*, and by the frenchmen *Quirici*, whom some also doe call *Calapin* or *Calepin* escaped ouer to *Adrinopoli* whose surname being called *Ciris Cheleby* was but a little of dignitie and Noblesse giuen to the children of the great Turk, as *Achmat Cheleby*, *Mahumet Cheleby*, or *Mustapha Cheleby*, which is as much as to denominate a gentleman, according as the Spaniards doe name their Nobilitie *Don Alonso* or *Don Rodrigo*, and the frenchmen *Charles Monsieur* or *Loys Monsieur*, being appropriate to their blood roiall. *Cyris* reigned sixe yeeres or thereabouts, and left behind him a sonne named *Orcan*, when as his three bretheren named *Musach*, *Mahumet*, and *Mustapha* escaped out of Constantinople, while the Emperour was gone into Fraunce to the sayd king

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king Charles to require succours against the aforesaid *Cyris*, *Musach* slew *Orcan* his nephew, & for recompence himselfe was after slaine by his owne brother *Mahumet*: And than first began they to deuile how the one brother might kill another, which vnto this time, they haue right well practized and put in vre.

*Mahumet* the first of that name, after he had slaine his brother *Musach*, vsurped the Empire, and recovered all the whole Countries of *Natolie* which *Tamerlayne* before had wenne of *Bazait*. This *Mahumet* remoued his seat imperiall from the citie of *Bursie* in *Natolie*, to *Adrianopoli* in *Grecia*. He made wars vpon the region of *Valachie* (which some french histories doe call *Valaigne* and other *Blaquie*, and of the ancients named *Bessi* and *Triballi*.) He also ouerthrew in battaile the Emperour *Sigismond* in the plaines of *Selumbez* and was the first of his nation that passed the riuer of *Donaw* or *Danuby*: hee subdued the countrie of *Bosnia* made war vpon *Caraman* and died the yeere of our Lord God 1418 and in the xxxviii yeere of the reigne of the said King Charles, after hee had reigned eightene yeeres reckoning therewith the yeares of *Cyris* (which some doe not) and left a sonne called *Amurath*.

*Amurath* the second of that name was in *Natolie*, when his father died, whereof so soone as hee was aduertised, passed into Europe; albeit the Emperour of Constantinople did what he could to stop his passage, who sent against him *Mustapha* his vnckle, sonne of *Bazait*, whom the said Emperour had kept prisoner sithens the taking of *Bazait*, as before I haue tolde: howbeit *Mustapha* being to weak, was vanquished & slaine

K.iii.

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## Of the conquests and succession

in battaile by Amurath, who to reuenge himselfe vpon the Emperour of Constantinople. Spoiled and burnt the whole territory of Thracia in Grecia: and tooke from the Venetians the notable towne of *Thessalonica* called now *Salonichi*, which *Andronico Paleologo* before had sold them in dispite of the Emperour *Constantine* his brother: after that, the said *Amurath* entred into *Serua* or *Rascia* & constrained *George Vucouich* the *Despot* or Prince of that country, to giue him in mariage his daughter named *Irine*, surnamed *Catichine*, notwithstanding which affinity hee afterward came against this *Despot* with an army, and enforced him to flie into *Hungary*, towards the Emperour *Albert* sonne in law to the late *Sigismond* the Emperour, leauing his sonne *George* for the defence of his said Countrie, this *George* was taken by *Amurath*, who caused his eies to bee put forth, though he was his brother in law. After the death of the said *Albert*, *Lancelot* brother to the king of *Pole* was chosen by the *Hungarians* for their King, albeit that *Albert* had left his wife with childe, who after the death of hir husband was deliuered of a sonne, that at his Baptisme was also named *Lancelot*, who after, was nourished and brought vp vnder the keeping of the Emperour *Frederic* the third of that name, and was the onely cause, that the said *Lancelot* of *Pole*, durst make no manner of enterprize against the *Turks* nor to inuade them, least in the meane time the Emperour *Frederic* should haue annoied him vpon some other part, and so haue set the other *Lancelot* (the true king in his realme of *Hungary*). During this time, *Amurath* who could not long rest, belieged *Belgrado* (which they call *Nanderalba*, and *Alba*

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*Alba Greci*, and by the *Hungariens*, *Chrieschisch*, but by our elders *Taurinum*,) situated betwixt the riuers of *Danubia* or *Donaw*, and *Sauus* or *Saua* vpon a verie necke of lande, where those two riuers doe ioine together, the which towne of *Belgrado* the said *George Vucouich* before had giuen in exchange for others to the said Emperour *Sigismond* for that it was the key and entrie to the kingdom of *Hungarie*: After which at the suit and perswasion of the same *George Vucouich*, the said king *Lancelot* raised a very great army against *Amurath*, and therewith recouered the territories of *Serua* and *Rascia*, which he rendred againe to the said *Despot George Vucouich*: to reuenge which wrong, *Amurath* leuied a great power, vnder the leading of one *Carabey* who encountring with the Christians, nigh the mountaine *Coftegnaz* (anciently called *Hemus*) was there ouerthrowen, and *Carabey* taken prisoner. The which two victories, with sundrie others before and after, were obtained by the famous prowesse, and valiantnesse of *Iohn Huniad* called by *Enguerrant de Monstrelet*, and *Philip de Comines*, *Le Blanc Cheualier de la Velaign*, and by the *Hungarians* *Ianco Ban*, or *Vaiuod*, that is to say, Prince of *Transilvania* at this present *Moldauia*, and by the *Hungarians* named *Sibenbourg*, that is to say, *Septemcastrum*, but by our elders *Dacia*. This worthy *Iohn Huniad* was father to the valiaunt *Mathias* king of *Hungary*, who not long agoe reigned there. After this battaile there was an abstinence from armes condicioned betwixt the *Hungarians* and the *Turks*, for two yeres, by reason wherof, & with the piment of fifty thousand ducats of ransome, *Carabey* was deliuered: the which trewe becing soone after broken by the said

saide king *Lancelot*, at the instance and perswasion of *Eugenius* the Pope, the fourth of that name, to king *Lancelot* was very unfortunate, for afterward he was slaine in the battaile foughten beetwixt him and *Amurath* nigh the towne of *Verna*, aunciently called *Iyonisopolis* vpon *Saint Martins* day, the eleauenth of *November* Anno Domini 1444 wher the saide *John Huniad* was put to flight. Of this victory *Amurath* had small cause to reioyce considering it cost him very decre both in losse of his best friends, & choice souldiers: after this *Amurath* toke the towne of *Sophie*, beeing the head towne of whole *Bulgaria*, *Scotie*, and *Novomont*, and ouerran all the territories of *Acarmania* (called at this instant, *Ducat* or *Duche*) and the Prouince of *Cymera* (aunciently called *Epirus*) where hee spoiled and wasted alongst the riuier of *Achelous* (at this day named the riuier of *Pachicolan*) vnto the mountaines *Du Diable* (in times past called *Acroceraunii*) which are part of the Mountaines called *Pinus*, hee tooke also the famous port towne, named *Velone* (sometime called *Aulon*) and passed the Gulfe of *Larta*, in latin called *Sinus Ambracius*, vnto the towne of *Oricus* (now named *Rio*) and so went forward towards the Gulf of *Catara* (which is called *Sinus Risonicus*) beeing five and twentie miles from the towne of *Ragusa*, (in ancient time named *Epidaurus*.) Hee enforced *John Castrioth* the Begot of *Cymera* to giue him the enpregnable towne of *Croia* with his three tonnes in hostage, and pledge of fidelitie, all which hee caused to become *Turks* the yongest named *George Castrioth*, at that time not aboue nine yeeres of age, was called by the *Turkes* *Scanderbeg* that is to say *Alexander*, the great, who after, became

became so valiant a Captaine, that for his worthie acts hee was comparable to the famous and most renowned *Pyrrus*, and others his worthy predeceffours, dominators and rulers of *Epirus*: for hauing commaund vnder *Amurath*, he conquered *Serua*, and did bring to the *Turks* obeilance the Countrie of *Carmania*. howbeit afterward this *Scanderbeg* retourning to the christian faith, caused *Amurath* to loose the territorie of *Serua*, and then toke from him the strong towne of *Croia* with all the countries, townes, & castells that before belonged to his saide father *John Castrioth*, besides that in twentie or thirty battels, wherein valiantly he fought with the *Turks*, he alwaies caried away with him the victorie, so as *Amurath* had neuer iust matter to obiekt to this *Scanderbeg*, then to reproch him with vnkindnes, that beeing so carefully brought vp by him, in his tender age, should so without cause reuolt, calling him by sundrie letters the ingrate & vnthankfull sonne: howbeit *Scanderbeg* cared so little for *Amurath*, that vpon occasion he departed from his owne Countries, to succour in person *Ferdinand* king of *Naples* against *John Duke* of *Calabre*, which *Ferdinand* hee restored to his realme, & expelled the Duke from the same: for which deede *Ferdinand* afterwards, curteously receiued the spoiled and calamitous children of *Scanderbeg* (whom *Mahomet* the second, after the death of their father exiled and bereft of all their liuelihood) & gaue them lands in the kingdome of *Naples*, so as they became *Marquizes* of *Saint Angelo*, and of *Tripaldo*: so as a worthy gentelman of that race named *Ferdinand Castrioth Marquize* of *Saint Angelo* was slaine, valiantly fighting on the im-

periall part in the late battaile before *Pauiā*. *Amurath* after that did winne the countrie of *Morie* ( which in latin by our elders is called *Peloponefus* ) through the discord of two bretheren, the one called *Thomas* and the other *Demetrius*, *Despots* of the same countrie, being brothers of *Constantine Paleologo* last Emperour of *Constantinople*, who by reason that the *Albanos* moued warres against them, sought for succours to *Amurath*, and became his tributaries, but after denying to pay their promised tribute, *Amurath* draue them out of their whole countrie of *Morie*. Howbeit *Demetrius* afterwards retired himself towards the *Turque*, but *Thomas* repayed to *Rome*, to the *Pope* where hee ended his life, leauing foure children, two sonnes and two daughters. *Amurath* being now become aged, and wearie both of the world and of his victories, withdrew himselfe among certaine *Heremits* and other *Religieux*, of his superstitious sect, pretending to leade the rest of his daies solitarilie and in quietnesse: & established in his place his son, *Mahumet* being but yong of yeeres, to reigne and gouerne his Kingdomes, appoynting for his gouernour one *Haly Bassa*, called of some, *Caly Bassa*. Howbeit when the famous *Iohn Huniades*, with the *Hungarians* had gathered together a mightie army, to haue inuaded the dominions of this young *Mahumet*. *Amurath* ( at the great instance and suite both of his sonne as also of the sayd *Haly Bassa* ( that could not bee obeyed ) was enforced to take vpon him the administration and government of the present affaires, who making head against the saide *Hungarians* in the ende, vanquished and put them to flight. After which *Amurath* inuaded the

the dominions of the valiaunt *Scanderbeg*, besieged his strong towne of *Croia*, howbeit hee could not winne the same. And in his retyring by the Mountaynes there, hee was spoyled by the *Paisaunts*, and verie manie of his armie slaine, whereby *Amurath* entered into such a meruaylous melancholie and displeasure, that what by disease therewith taken, and his olde age together hee dyed, in the yeere of our Lord God 1451. of his age seauentie fve, and of his reigne thirtie two, and of the reigne of Charles, the French king the seauenth of that name twentie sixe. Thus *Amurath* was the first, that instituted the *Iannissaries*.

*MAHUMET*, the second of that name, called by *Enguerrand*, and other french Historiographers *Morbefan*, perhaps they would haue said *Morbefalem*, which is as much in the *Surien* or *Moresque* language, as these woordes in the *Gospell*, *Vade in Pace*, depart in peace. This woord *Morbefan* among the *Turkes* signifieth so much as Duke or Duchie. This *Mahumet* was sonne of the saide *Amurath*, and of *Iriny* a Christian woman daughter to *George* the *Despot* of *Seruaia*, who beganne to reigne the one and twentie yeere of his age, and two yeeres after did winne by assault the Citie of *Constantinople* Anno Domini 1453. where the Emperour *Constantine* was slayne, by which it so came to passe, that as one *Constantine* sonne to *Helen*, was the first Emperour of *Constantinople*: so an other *Constantine* sonne of an other *Helen*, was the last Christian Emperour there. This *Mahumet* proued in the ende, neither *Musulman* or *Mahometist*, for in his infancy hee



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was instructed in the christian faith, by his said mother, and after by others in the Turkish superstition, howbeit, when he came to age, he cared neither for the one nor other. In the beginning of his reigne, he caused two of his bretheren being but of very tender age (the one, of a yeere and a halfe, the other not passing sixe moneths olde) to be slaine: howbeit some doe affirme that the elder sonne was secretly saued, an other childe beeing put in his roome, who was caried to *Venice*, and from thence to *Rome* to *Pope Calixt*, who caused him to bee baptised and named *Calixt Othman*, vpon whom the Emperour *Frederic* afterwards did bestow great liuings.

Mahumet hauing thus taken *Constantinople* as I haue declared, did inuade the dominions of *Hungary*, and besieged *Belgrado*, from which, hee vvas repulsed by the worthie *John Huniades*, that was then within *Belgrado*, with the Cardinall *Angelo*, and the famous gray Frier called *John Capistran*: From this siege *Mahumet* withdrew himselfe and his army with shame inough, for besides his owne hurts & wounds, he lost wholly his artillerie & baggage, with his for euer hope to haue the realme of *Hungarie*: besides hee was compelled wholly to attend the recouerie of the dominion of *Moree*, which the *Venetians* had wonne from him, hauing repaired the *Examilo* (which is a long wall of the length of sixe Italian miles extending from the Gulfe *Patras*, which the latines doe call *Sinu Corinthiacus*, vnto the Bay of *Egino* named in latin *Sinus Megaricus*, betweene which two Gulfs, (as it were in the midst of the *Isthmus*, not passing sixe miles broad, being a peece of ground comparable vnto a bridge tyeng the dominion and territorie of *Peloponesus*, vnto the

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the maine land of *Grecia*) the Citie of *Corinthe* stood sometime of notable fame, but now reduced to a little village called *Coranto*) the which long vwall named the *Examilo*, *Amurath* in his life had caused to bee demolished and cast downe, to the end to haue the more easie passage into *Peloponesus*: but when *Mahumet* came, the *Venetians* hoping they had beene strong inough, in a battaile which they fought vvith him, vvere cleane ouerthrowen, vvhere a great number of Italian Captaines vvere slaine: so as *Mahumet* recovered the chiefe of the territorie of *Peloponesus*, foorthvvith againe after vvchich in the very sight of the *Venetians* hee did vvinne from them the vvhole Iland of *Negropont* called also *Euboea*, ioyned to the firme & main land vvith a bridge, vvith the Ilands of *Stalimene* anciently named *Lemnos*, and *Methelin* called *Lesbos*, appertaining then to *Nicholas Cataluz* a *Geneuois*: and so prosecuting his good fortune hee tooke the Isle of *Saint Maura* (called *Nerytus*, and by some *Leucas*, & *Leucadia*) together vvith the Isles of *Zante* (aunciently named *Zacynthus*) and *Cephalenia*, (called novv *Chiphalonie*:) Hee recovered the strong tovvne of *Croya*, after the death of *Scanderbeg*, spoiled the tovvne of *Scodra* called novv *Scutare* from *Seigneur Aranith Comino*, or *Comnenus* surnamed *Golent* father of *Seigneur Constantine*, vvho then gouerned the *Marquesdome* of *Montferrato*, after the death of the *Duchesse* his niece, at vvchich time *Charles* the eight the French King returned from *Naples*: after all this *Mahumet* inuaded the territorie of *Bosne*, and tooke the *Despot* thereof called *Stephan Hierchec*, and of some *Historiographers* the Duke *Latic*, and caused



his head to bee smitten off, compelling a yong sonne of this *Despot* to be made a *Renie*, and to be circumcised, in furnishing him *Achmeth*. Hee tooke from the *Genoies*, their towne of *Capha* (auncientlie called *Theodosia*) situated in *Prezocopie*, named by the *Geographers* *Taurica Chersonesus*: which is as though it were halfe an Island, as is *Peloponessus*, and hath on the one side the *Gulf* of *Nigropila* (called *Sinus Carcinus*) & on the other, the *Baye* called *La Mer Noir*, named in latin *Black Paulus*, from which not very far distant is the famous *Gulfe* called *Paulus Meotis* commonly named the *Gulf de la Tana*, during which time of these his expeditions & exploits in war in countries so farre distant the one from the other, hee was assailed in *Natolie* by *Piramet Caraman*, who enforced him to relinquish his further enterprises. Notwithstanding before his departure, he tooke the strong fortress of *Mancap* or *Mantzup*, situated in the *Isthmus* or strait peece of ground which knitteth or ioyneth *Prezocopie* vnto the firme land called by the ancients *Taphre*, now *Azan* or *Affon* standing vpon the shore of the *Gulf* of *Tana*. That done, *Mahumet* retired into *Natolie*, and repelled from thence *Caraman*, inuading the countries of the same *Caraman*, whereof he did win a great part: and in his returne tooke the citie of *Sinopes*, the *Metropolis* of *Paphlagonia*, which standeth vpon the coast of the sea called aunciently *Pentus Euxinus*, & now *La Mer Maiour*, as also vpon the same coast, the renowned citie of *Trapezonda*, being the chiefe city of the Empire of *Trapezonda*, where he did put to death the Emperour therof called *David Conino* or *Comnenus*, who was a Christian, descended of the valiaunt *Isaac Conino*, who from a meane

Captaine

Captaine became Emperour of *Constantinople*, after the Emperour *Michaell*: all which troubles about said came to passe, when as the *Hungarians*, and those of *Austrich* moued wars against the Emperour *Frederic* to recouer *Ladislaws* (whom some doe call *Lancelot*) the sonne of *Albert*, to be their king and lord, whom *Frederic* had in keeping, yet would not restore him, though he was adjudged meete to reigne: while *Mahumet* became thus victorious, there did spring a new enemy against him named *Vssuncassan* or *Affambeg* the prince of *Persia*, who with a great power of the *Persians* (whom the *Turkes* doe call *Kesetbach*, that is to say, red heads, by reason that they did weare red hoods) entered into *Capadoce* and *Trapezonde*, and fought two battailes with *Mahumet*, in the first of which *Mahumet* was ouerthrowen, but in the second *Affambeg* had the worst, and thereby lost sundry of his dominions. This *Vssuncassan* or *Affambeg* was sonne in law to the saide *David Conino* Emperour of *Trebisfonde*, of whom beefore I made mention, who reigned in the yeere of our Lord God 1472. *Mahumet* thus deliuered of his aduersarie, returned into *Caramany* after the death of *Piramet Caraman*, and enforced *Abraham* his sonne to seeke for succours from the Christians, and chiefe of *Pope Pius* the second of that name, who was determined in person to haue gone against the *Turke*, and for that purpose was repayed to the Citie of *Ancona*, where hee had in readinesse a great army on the sea: but while hee stayed there for the *Venetians* that should haue accompanied him in the voyage, *Pius* dyed, without any further exploit done at that time.

Whereby

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Whereby

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Whereby it so came to passe, that this army being scattered, and the *Allemans* and the *Hungarians* continuing still at warres, this infortunate *Caraman* not able to resist *Mahumet*, was in the end miserable flaine by him, and by this meane the race of *Caraman* was vtterly ouerthrowen, and his dominions rested in the subiection of the *Othmans*. *Mahumet* now assured and safe vpon this coast of *Cilicia*, sent *Omarbey*, the *Sangiac* of *Bosnia*, who was sonne of a *Geneuois*, to pill and ouerrunne the countrie of *Istria* (called *Liburnia*) as likewise to spoile the territorie of *Carinthia* (commonly called *Crayn*) & so to furrow the land of *Stiria* (anciently called *Valeria*, now at this day named *Steirmarck*) all which countries are comprehended vnder the name of *Illyrium*. This *Omarbey* in executing his princes commandement, passed vnto the region of *Frioll*, (which in latin is called *Forum Iulii*,) trauefing mightie and great riuers, both by foords and bridges made on boates as occasion serued, and ouerthrew the armie of the *Venetians* that came to debar his passage, in which conflict were flaine & taken a great company of notable good Captaines of *Italy*. Of another part *Mahumet* did send *Athmath Bacha* (surnamed *Ghendich*, that is to say with a great Tooth, sonne of *Stephan* sometime *Despot* of *Bosnia*, of whom I dyd speake beefore) with a great army by sea into *Italy* who tooke the towne of *Otranto* (called in latin *Hydruntus* and of the auncients *Iapygium*) situated in the territorie of *Apulia* in *Italie*: a little beefore which *Mesith Bacha Paleologo*, discended of the race of the Emperour of *Constantinople*, did besiege the famous citie of the *Rhodes*, with a mightie army, from which hee was repulled by

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the Christians that valiauntly defended the same. Now *Mahumet* not contented thus with these three Armies, in person went against the *Soldain* of *Egipt*, but being arriued nigh vnto *Nicomedia* (a Citie of *Bithynia* in *Natoly*, which Citie at this day is called *Comidy*, and of the *Turks* *Nichor*, *Mahumet* died in the yeere of our Lord God 1442 of his age 54. And of his reigne 31. About the ende of *Loys* the eleuenth, and the beginning of the reigne of *Charles* the eight the *French* king. This *Mahumet* was called by the *Turks*, *Mahumet Boiuc*, that is to say *Mahumet* the great, who left beehinde him, two sonnes the one called *Pazait* and the other *Zizimy*, which is to say loue, for *Mustapha* his eldest sonne, who was *Gouernour* of *Icony* called *Iconium* in Latin, dyed soone after the second battell fought as aboue saide against *Vsuapessan*, in which battell *Mustapha* had very valiantly behaued himselfe.

*PAZAIT* otherwise called *Bazait* the second of that name, and the yongest as was supposed of his three Bretheren (thorough the aide and fauour of the *Janizares* of whom their *Laga* or Captaine was his sonne in law,) seized and atteigned the Empire. And *Zizimy* his brother, was planted in the Citie of *Bursie* wherewith and the dominions of the same hee could haue very well contented himselfe. But *Bazait* would not let him rest so nigh, for which with the armie that was put in redinesse by his father to haue gone against the *Soldain* of *Egipt* he draue his brother *Zizimy* out of *Bursie*. So as *Zizimy* for succour, was enforced to repaire to the *Soldain* of whom he was aided both with men and money, yet neuerthelesse, after he had fought two battels and lost them both, hee was in the ende vtterly put to flight by *Achmat Ghendich Bacha*,

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and not knowing how to recouer himselfe, retired into the *Ile of Rhodes* to require succors of vs Christians, being then of the age of eight and twentie yeeres. Whereof *Bazait* heeing aduertised sent great gifts and presents to the great maister and counsaile of the *Rhodes*, beseeching them to keepe well his brother *Zizimy* and for the maintenaunce of his estate and entertainment, he would cause yeerely to bee payde to them the summe of fortie thousand Ducats, as also during the time of his keeping he would make no manner of inuasion vpon the Christians. For which this *Zizimy*, for fastie, and to keepe *Bazait* in continuall feare and subiection was sent, into the realme of *Fraunce* where hee continued very long in a house of the order of the *Rhodes*, called *Bourgeneuf*, but after hee was giuen to *P. P. Innocent* the eight of that name, and had to *Rome* where hee was resident, when *Charles* the eight inuaded the Realme of *Naples*, who needes would haue *Zizimy* away with him, hoping by his meanes to recouer the Empire of *Constantinople* but the *P. P. Alexander* the sixt of that name (perceiuing hee must depart with *Zizimy* whither hee would or no) enpoysened him in such sort (as was said) that after such his delyuerie hee dyed within three dayes at *Tarracine*. *Bazait* thus dispatched of his brother; beeganne to inuade the Countries of *Transylvania* and tooke *Moncastro* standing on the Riuer of *Neper* called in *Lattin Boristhenes*, with the towne of *Lithostomo* at the mouth of the riuer of *Danubye*. After which, he caused to be put to death, his famous Generall *Achmat Ghendich Bacha*, comparable in valour to any excellent man of warre of his time. He was sonne to *Stephan* sometime *Despot* of *Bosnia* as beefore I declared. This being done, to pursue the entent and

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and purpose of his father *Mahumet* against the *Soldain* of *Egypt* and partly to reuenge himselfe vpon the same *Soldain* for mayntaining of his brother *Zizimy* against him, hee sent a mightie armie into *Sury*. Of the which the *Mammaluchs* getting intelligence, assembled themselues at *Antioche*, marching towards the *Turkes* whome they found encamped vnder the mountaine *Amanus* (now called *Monte Negro*) wher they couragiously encountred their enemyes betwixt the same mountain and the *Golfe* of *Layasse* (which is called in *Latin Sinus Ifficus*. Where sometime also *Alexander* the great, discomfited king *Darius*) ouerthrew the *Turkes* armie, and tooke prisoner the Generall of the same, called *Cherseogli* sonne in law of *Bazait* whom they brought to the *Soldain* than being at his great Citie of *Cair* (which the *Turkes* called *Mitzir*.) But seeing I am thus chaunced to make mencion of these *Mammaluchs* I shall not much digresse from my matter, if first I shew you what these *Mammaluchs* are.

This woord *Mammaluch* in the *Surienne* tongue, (being the common language vsed in *Africk* which wee call *Moresque* and the most enlarged and extended vulgare speech that at this day is vsed in the world.) betokeneth or signifieth a seruiteur or soldior. This *Soldain* and the *Mammeluchs* were of one manner of Religion, and liued without marriage, as those that are of the order of the *Rhodes* & the knights of *Malta* doe, who aboue their other apparrell, vsed to weare a gowne of white *Bocassin* bright & artificially made to shine. And as the great *Turk* hath foure *Visir Bacha* exceeding the others in dignitie: So hath the *Soldain* foure *Emir Quibir* surmounting the rest in honour next vnto the *Soldain*.

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For

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For this word *Emir* betokeneth an Admerall and *Quibir* signifieth great. So as this woord *Emir Quibir*, is as much to say a great Admerall. Besides, they had in their society a great constable called in their tongue *Derdard Quibir*, whom *Paulus Iovius* calleth the great *Diadaro*. The *Soldain* being but a *Mammaluch* is chosen to that dignitie by the rest of the brothers, as they doe elect the great Master of the *Rhodes*, and most often hee is of one of their *Emirs*. Who being thus elected to be *Soldain* giueth to euery of the other *Mammaluchs* by way of reward a hundred Duckets for his welcome. All which *Mammaluchs* were Christians Renies, or sonnes of Christians as are the *Ianizaries*; (who in no case would receiue any *Turke Moore* or *Ieme* to be of their societie) being all *Linerous* for so the *Turkes* doe name them. This *Linerous* were aunciently named *Hiberi* and *Circassi* (whom they call *Cercas*,) among whom the *Colchi*, *Georgii*, *Albani*, and others Christians who were *Iacobits* and *Nestorians*, remaining about the riuer of *Phaso* otherwise called *Phasis*) were accounted. This *Circassi* beeing young whan the *Tartarians* dyd surprise and take them, were carryed by troopes and solde to the saide *Emirs*, with whom they were brought vp in the exercise of armes but chiefly on horsback, who becomming very valyaunt; were made *Mammaluchs* obseruing the *Mahumeticall* law. This order of the *Mammaluchs* beganne at such time as the king saint *Lois* was taken prisoner before *Damyate* (which some call *Heliopolis*) among whom the first *Soldain* was named *Melechsaalem* whom they dyd kill and was the cause that the sayd saint *Loys* was the more easily deliuered. But to returne to *Bazait*, this ouerthrow that the *Turkes* thus receiued

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ceiued nigh to the Golfe of *Layasse* by the *Mammaluchs*, was the greatest calamitie that euer came to the *Turkes*, whereof *Bazait* hauing receiued intelligence, and perceiuing that his affaires had small good successe on that side, retired his force into *Sclauonye*, and there tooke the towne of *Durazo* (aunciently called *Dirrachium*) and *Epidamnus* pertaigning to the familie of the *Carlouichs* who affirmed themselues to haue descended out of the house of the kings of *Fraunce*. That is to say from *Charles* of *Durazo* surnamed *de le Faix* sonne of *Peter* Duke of *Graunyn* sonne of *Charles* second king of *Naples*, and of *Hungary* in the right of his wife. The which *Charles* was sonne of *Charles D'aniou* king of *Naples* brother to the said king saint *Loys*.

In the yeere of our Lord God 1493. *Bazait* sent eight thousand horsemen vnder the leading of *Cadum Bacha* to ouer runne the Countries lying betweene *Hungarie* and *Sclauonie*, against whom, certaine of the Nobility of *Hungary Croace* and *Sclauony* dyd assemble themselues and encountered the *Turkes* nigh vnto the Riuer of *Moraua* (auncientlie called *Moschus*) where the Christians were ouerthrowen. Fiue yeeres after, *Haly Bacha* the *Albaneze* and *Enuch* with a great armie by sea made towards the towne of *Iara* or *Iadera* situated on the shore of the *Golfe* of *Venice* in the coast of *Sclauony*. And albeit that the forces of the *Venetians* (which was very mightie on the sea,) pursued the *Turkes* yet durst they not charge the, which *Haly Bacha* perceiuing, tooke at their noses the towne of *Lepantho*, aunciently called *Naupactum*.

In the yeere of our Lord God 1500. *Bazait* came in person to *Modon*, that sometime was called *Methones*, in

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Moree

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*Moree* and tooke the same. And after, when *Lewes* the twelfth, the *French* King ioyned in aliaunce with the *Venetians* against *Ludovic Sforza* the vfarper of the Duchie of *Milayn*, *Bazait* at the request of *Sforza* caused tenne thousand horsemen to inuade the territorie of *Friol*, in somuch as they approched euen to the towne of *Triniso* in the view of the Citie of *Venice*. For which the *Venetians* prepared immediatly a great armie on the sea against the *Turkes*, with whom the Gallies of *Fraunce* vnder the charge of *Seigneur Rauestaing*, as also the Gallies of the king of *Aragon* vnder the leding of the famous *Don Ferrando Gonzaluo* ioyned, with which armie they dyd win from the *Turks* the *Islands* of *Cephalonia*, and *Iaint Mauro*. But (vpon certaine conclusions of peace traicted by the meanes of *Messire Andrew Gritti* (who afterwarde was Duke of *Venice*) betwixt the *Venetians* & the *Turkes*) were againe surrendered, yet the Gallies of *Fraunce*, passed forwardes to the *Isle* of *Lesbos*, (otherwise called *Metheline*) hoping to haue subdued the same, but not able to bring their enterprise to passe, they returned home againe. About this time beeganne the fame and renowne of *Siach Ismael* the king of *Persia*, by surname called the *Sophie* according to the name of his father, who was sonne to the Daughter of *Vssuncassan*, and of one *Seich Ayder* (that is to say the good *Religious*) for he was reputed among the *Persians* to bee a very good and holy man, and a Prophet called *Sophi*, of that sect new begunne among the *Mahumetists*, which they call *Sophi* or *Sophilar*, of the which I dyd speake beefore, according to the which hee lyued.

Some holde opinion that hee was called *Sophi* of the

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the Countrey of *Sophena* which was vnder his dominion. But neyther the *Turkes* nor yet the *Persians* know what Countrey *Sophena* is: The sayde *Seich Ayder* after the death of *Vssuncassan* was shamefully slayne by the commandement of *Iacobbeg* his brother in law, doubting that the people of *Persia* (who meruailously were affected towardes *Seich*) would haue deposed the sayd *Iacobbeg* and made *Seich* to haue beene theyr King.

For which *Seich Ismaell* hearing of his fathers death beeing than not passing eyght yeeres of age, fledde to the towne of *Leziam* situated vppon the Sea of *Abacuth* (commonly called *Caspium*,) where hee remained vntill hee came to mans age, and than returned into *Persia*, where finding meanes to assemble but three hundered men thorough theyr help hee tooke the towne of *Sumach*, and after, increasing his number, hee wanne the Citie of *Taurys* in *Armeny* with the towne of *Syras*, where the good Armour is made.

Hee afterwarde vanquished and slew in fight *Aluant* sonne of *Iacobbeg* who made him-selfe King after the death of his father, who was sonne to *Vssuncassan* (Vncle to the sayde *Ismaell*) and entered in league with the Prince *Aladulad* or *Anandule* and the *Soldain* of *Egypt* by whome hee was drawne to mooue warre against *Bazait*, against whom he obtained sundry victories. About this time *Selym*, the youngest sonne of *Bazait*, departed from *Trebisconde* whereof he was gouernour, and without the knowledge of his father, married with the daughter of the *Cham* of *Tartarie Prezecopie*.

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Thorough whole aide and a great number of Horsemen, which his brother in law (called of the *Turkes Chamogly* or *Canogly*;) brought to accompany him, (hauiug already gained the hearts of his fathers *Iannizaries*.) Hee enforced *Bazait* his father to leaue to him his Empire. Which *Bazait*, purposing to draw himselfe to the coast of the sea *Maïor* otherwise named *Pontus Euxinus* and there to leade the residue of his yeeres in quietnesse, dyed in his going thither, empoysoned as was iudged by his sonne *Selym*, in that they did drinke together at their departure. *Bazait* reigned thirtie yeeres, lyued threescore and three yeares, dyed in the yeere of our Lord God, one thousand five hundred & twelue. And in the fourteenth of the reigne of *Lewes* the twelfth, the *French* king, leuing behinde him *Selym*, *Achmat*, and *Corchuth*.

*SELYM*, thus hauing attained to the Empire, through the meanes aboue declared, endeouored himselfe aboue all things to dispatch himselfe from the feare of his bretheren. For which first hee caused *Corcuth* his brother to bee put to death, who before had fled to the sea coast ouer against the *Island* of the *Rhodes* and there had hidden himselfe vntill hee might haue gotten shipping to haue past vnto the great Maister, but being shainelessly discovered by one of his owne men, in the ende was strangled with a bow string. *Achmat* his brother dyed by lyke death, being taken in battell, accompanied with an able armie which hee had gotten together thorough the ayde of *Siach Ismael*, and of *Campson Ciauri Soldain* of *Egypt*. Yet through his fatnesse and vnweldinesse of body whereby hee was not able to abide labour on horseback and so to flye, was taken & put to death. *Selym*, being thus deliuered from

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from his father & bretheren, deliberated to inuade the *Sophy*, aswell for the auncient enmitie that was betwixt them, as to reuenge himselfe of this new iniury, for ayding his brother *Achmat*, to make wars against him. Howbeit, that the more easely he might bring his purpose about, he found meanes first to make peace with *Lancelot* the king of *Hungary*, & than for his greater suertie, renewed the alliance & league that he had with the *Venetians*: after which he set forward towards the *Persians*, whome the *Sophy* met, accompanied with a great nūber of men at Armes, nigh to *Assiria*, wher these great Princes with their Armies fought a wonderful sore battell, in vvhich the *Sophy* through the *Turks* Artillery had the worst, & was put to flight: forsomuch as the *Persian* horses vvere neuer frequented to the noise & thundring of artillery, which they could not abide to heare. This battell vvas fought in the plain of *Calderan*, betwixt the cities of *Tauris*, and *Coy*: which citie of *Coy* sometime hath bene called *Artaxata*. The maner of this battell is painted in the counsaile chamber at *Venice*, vvhich ther I haue seene, & is reported that *Selym* caused so to be done, & sent to *Venice*, to the *Senat* ther. After vvhich conflict the citie of *Tauris* came into the hands of the *Turks*, vwith a great part of the Realme of *Persia*: Howbeit, the *Turks* had no long possession of the same: For *Siach Ismael* recovered al that he had lost, right soone after. In such sort as *Thomas* the sonne of the said *Ismael* holdeth the same at this day. *Selym* now retourning out of *Persia* came to *Trebizonda*, where he taried all the winter, but the sommer next ensuing he inuaded the prince *Aladulus*, otherwise called *Anardule*, (vvhich frontered vpon the Soldain

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of *Egipt*, towards a Towne of his called *Alep*, by the french men named *Halappe*, by the *Turks* *Adelphe*, & by our ancients *Epiphania*, supposed to be called *Aleph*, because it is the first Towne which that way leadeth into *Sury*). Vpon an other coast, he bordereth on the *Turks*, toward the prouince of *Icony*, & vnto *Armenia* the lesse pertaining to the *Persians*. All this country of *Anadule*, was subdued by *Selym*, *Anadule* himselfe taken, and his head smitten off, by commaund. There rested now no mo in the contrary of *Selym*, but onely the *Souldain* of *Egipt*, vvho vvith a great Armie was come against *Caythby*, the *Emyr* of *Alep*, vvho being subiect to the *Souldain*, had reuolted against him. The armie of the *Souldain* was supposed to be about eight & twentie thousand Horsemen, the most part of vvhich consisted of the order of the *Mameluchs*, vvho litle esteemed the *Turks*, considering that heretofore they had encountred them in other vvays, & giuen them the ouerthrow, as before is declared. But *Selym* politickly feigning as though he purposed to inuade the *Sophy*, vvhereof he made a bruit to runne: vvhan he was come nigh vnto the Towne of *Aman*, (called by our ancients *Apamea*, situated betwixt *Alep* and *Damas*,) was instantly required & prayed by the sayd *Caithby*, to giue him succours and ayde against the *Souldain*: Vherunto, *Selym* accorded right soone, as he, that found vvhat he desired, and a redy occasion, for vvhich he had long looked. Yet vvould he not vtter his thoughts therein, least the two armies of the prince and subiect, being ready in the feeld to fight, and perceiving his purpose, (vvho in taking part sought so to overthrow them both) should accord together against him.

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Wherfore immediately he raigned with the *Emir Caithby*, bidding defiance to the *Souldain Campson Ciauri*, with vvhom he fought in set field, vvhere the *Souldain* was slaine, and *Caithby* also as some doe say,) vvherby *Selym* remained Lord ouer all *Siria*, *Damas*, *Hierusalem*, & *Iudea*. The *Mameluchs* vvho saued themselves in that battaile, returned into *Egipt*, vvhere vvith the others there, they chose an other *Souldain* named *Tomombey*, vvho before, was *Emyr* of *Alexandria*, hovvbeit *Selym* hotly following his fortune and victories, entered into *Egipt*, vanquished *Tomombey* in an other battaile, tooke the great citie of *Caire*, (vvhich of some, vvrongfully is called *Carra*) & named of other by more aparant reason *Memphis*,) vvhere vvhillst *Tomombey* vvould haue saued himselfe on the other side of the riuer *Nyle*, he was pursued by *Canogly*, vvho passed the riuer by ships, vvith ten thousand Horsemen, (the bridge that was made on boats ouer the same, being cloyed vvith *Janizaries*, so as he was not able to passe that way,) by vvhich *Canogly* *Tomombey*, being taken and brought back to *Selym*, caused him straight to be strangled, vvhereby the said *Selym* remained King of *Egipt*, *Anno Domini*. 1518. These victories thus attained, *Selym* returned to *Constantinople*, and purposing to remoue to the Citie of *Adrianople*, died in his iournyeng, at a village called *Chiorlich*: vvhere before vvith his *Tartarians*, he did fight vvith his father *Bazait*, and was ouerthrowen. Thus he died in the yeere of our Lord God one thousand five hundred and twentieth, of his reigne the eighteenth yeere, of his age the sixe & forty yeere: and of the reigne of the right *Christian* king *Francis* the French King, the eight yeere After

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that he had put to death three of his most worthy *Bachas*, *Chenden Bacha*, because he would haue mutined his *Iannissaires*, entring into *Persia*. *Bostangi*, otherwise called *Constantin Bacha* his sonne in law, for sundry exactions and spoiles that he had committed: & *Ianus Bacha*, wher of none could tell the cause, sauing that *Selym* thought him to be high minded. This *Selym* left but one sonne named *Solyman*, called by the *Turks*, *Selyman*: whom he recommended to the custody of *Peribacha*, who before had gouerned him in his youth.

**S**OLYMAN came to his reigne the xxviij. yeere of his age, who the yeere next ensuing by the counsaile of *Peribacha*, beseged *Belgrado*, & did win it from king *Lewes* of *Hungary* (the son of *Lancelot*.) who at that time was very young, hauing the Princes & Lords of his Countie at discord among them selues, about the Regimēt of their King and of his Realme: Whereby it came to passe that no maner of Order was foreseen, either for the defence or succoring of that famous Place.

The next yeere after, hee besieged the *Rhodes*, espying alwayes after the custome of his elders, the discords & diuisions among *Christian Princes*, the which enterprize was cleerely against the minde and counsaile of *Peribacha*, who accompted that Iourney very doubtfull and of no litle aduenture: Howbeit the same succeeded too well with him, as he desired.

In the yeere of our Lord God 1527. whan *Italy* was in wars & troubles, *Solyman* entred into *Hungary* in fauour, as he said, of *John de Zips*, the *Vayuod* of *Sibenbourg*, who pretended that the kingdome of *Hungarie* dyd to him onely

onely of right appertaine: wher it came to passe, that the young King *Lewes*, comming in person to the fight, was slaine: after which, the said *John* attaining the kingdome, dyed, leauing a yong son, an Infant, behinde him, vnder protection of *Solyman*, with his Kingdome likewise.

The same *Selyman* in the yeare 1535. going in expedition against *Thomas* king of the *Persians* toke from him the whole country of *Mesopotamia*, vwith the citie of *Babilon*, and in 1538 continuing at *Aulona* hee gaue an attempt to the vwinning of the Isle of *Corcyra*. 1540 hee both besieged and tooke the strong fortres called *Castell Nouo* in *Dalmatia*. In the yeere 1541 *John de Zips* king of *Hungaria* being dead as aforesaid, & his widdow calling *Solyman* to hir aide, who as then vvas besieged in the citie of *Buda*, by *Ferdinand* king of the *Romains*. The said *Solyman* not onely came to releue hir, but beating back the army of *Ferdinand*, tooke the said citie, placed therein a *Bassa*, and sent the vviddow vwith hir infant son into *Transilvania*. The yeere following the same *Solyman* defended the city of *Pestum* in *Hungaria* against the vnited and assembled forces of the whole *German Empire*, and after toke from them the two strong holdes of *Strigonium* and *Alba Regalis*, and in fine concluded peace with *Ferdinand* king of the *Romains* and *Hungaria*, vpon condition of a yeerelie pension ( which they doe call a tribute ) to bee paid him. In the yeere 1549 and 1550 hee vndertoke another expedition against the *Persians*, and established a *Beglerbeg* at *Vanum* in the confines of *Media* and *Armenia*, after which he possessed himselfe of *Tripolis* in *Africa*, *Temeswar* in *Hungaria*, the which with the adioyning countries he committed to the defence of a

new *Bassa*. In the yeere 1553. he commanded his eldest son *Mustapha* to bee put to death at *Halep*: gaue order though in vaine, that *Zegethum* in *Hungaria*, should be besieged & afterward enforced his son *Baiafeth* (desirous to succeed his father) hauing first overcome him in battell, to fly to the king of the *Persians*, where being apprehended, he the said *Baiafeth*, with his foure sons, *Solyman*, his nephews, were cruelly slaine. 1560 the *Turks* gaue a great ouerthrow to the *Christians*, at the land of *Garbe*, while the saide *Christians* were desirous to recouer the towne of *Tripolis*, formerly taken, as is said by the *Turks*. After which the said *Solyman* attempted (but with small successe) the land of *Malta*, yet toke that of *Chios* belonging to the state of *Genoa*. Lastly being againe recald into *Hungaria* by *Iohn* of *Transilvania* he died before *Zegethum* in the yeere 1566. and of his age seauentie sixe.

To whom succeeded his son *Selimus* the second, this *Selimus* made peace with *Maximilian* the *Emperour* euery eight yeeres to be renewed, toke from the possession of the *Venetians*, the Ile of *Ciprus*, & in the yeere 1571 receiued that memorable ouerthrow in that worthy sea fought battell at *Lepanto*. Hee likewise by *Sinamus Bassa* his generall, toke in the kingdome of *Tunis* in *Africk*, forty yeeres after that *Charles* the first the *Emperor* had held it in his command, & caused that famous fort of the *Guler*, to be ouerthrowen & leueled with the ground: This *Sinamus Bassa*, is he who at this day is the great commander of all *Turkish* forces in *Hungaria*. And so the said *Selimus* in the end of the year 1574 died. Who left behind him a son called *Amurath* the third, the which *Amurath*, for the space of 14. continued yeers, held wars both long  
some

some & variable with the *Persian* king called *Mahemet Hoddobende*, (as much to say as the seruant of God,) which wars scarce determined he began to make head against the *Christians* & the *Emperour Rodolphe*, by whose soldiers the *Bassa Bosnensis* 1593 and others at *Sisciam* in *Hungaria* had ben slaine. This *Amurath* after many miseries inflicted vpon the poore remaynder of *Hungaria*, & the confines of *Austria* in the end of *March*, the yeere 1595 concluded his daies. To him succeeded *Mahumet* the third his son, who now reigneth, a yong man then of the age of thirty two yeeres, little more or lesse, of a great spirit, able body, & infaligable minde, who before the performance of his fathers funerall rites, caused xviij of his brothers, & fathers sons by seuerall concubines to bee strangled, all which with their said father he toke order should honorably in the same monument be enterred, & euen & twenty of his sisters he inclosed in the *Seraglio*, a place in manner of a monestary, deputed for the retyring of the great *Senior* his children, & the safe keeping of his concubines. This *Mahumet* is thought to prosecute the wars against the *Christians*, which his father left vnfinished, with more seruient desire & greater forces then any other before him. In this sort as you see, haue I for your content entred and finished this matter, which required more largely to haue ben touched, & to haue buied one of better knowledge, which things though but slightly run ouer, may suffice to make aparant, that since but meane princes in regard of the vnited *Christian* forces, haue thus encombred the course of their conquests it is not Impossible the like againe may be done, & greater when God shall encourage vs therunto.

*The end of the second booke.*

# To the VVorshipfull his very good

cosen Edward Carr of Slesford in the coun-  
tie of Lincolne Esquier, and one in his  
Majesties Commission of peace  
there.



*I R, one and the same loue and duetie, deriued from an infinit desire to serue and honour you, formerly protested to your worthy brothers, and now continued towards you, hath drawen on this third booke, in such sort, as you see, not without some speciall reason, for heere in beeing in most liuely and faire lines, laide forth, the perfect modell of true valour, and resolution, with many other parts of action and exact military discipline, admired presidents both for rule and example: I could not in my owne conceit better dispose of, then in commending vnto you, beeing as I heare, a man in action, and one whom your countrie hath built their better hopes, when service or the like occasion may call them therevnto: what I wish, and well hope, that the two first bookes haue obtayned from them, of fauourable acceptaunce and entertaining, my honest will according to my meaning: the same I would intreat most earnestly of you, for this: which granted shall engage mee ere long to some greater taske, better fitting your worth, and in conformity more fullie squared to my owne desire, till when I take my leaue and rest, for euer in what I can.*

*Your worships exceedingly deuoted*

*R. Carr.*

# The third Booke.

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The Historie of *Celimus secundus*:  
of the warres and siege  
of Malta.



*H O* soeuer that complaine of the inconstance and imbecilitie of humaine affaires, & the estate of mankinde, truly they doe it not without cause: for well obseruing they shall see all things, with the heauens themselves, sometime flow, & sometime chaunge, though not according to the face of the heauens, and the positions, motions, and courses of the starres, ( which in their times appointed, doe make returne, ) the matters and state of mankinde are alwaies like, for neither mankinde it selfe, nor their worthie acts, pollicies, arts, regiments, and lawes, ( whereof the most part are either at this present, chaunged, or els vtterlie decaied, ) which any conuersion or retourne of the heauens can come againe, whereof example vnto vs, are the *Assyrians, Meds, Persians, Aegyptians, Carthagians, Greeks, and Romans*: For, time chaungeth and consumeth all worldly things, which had enfolded and vtterly ouerturned, the famous acts of these worthie nations, in the horrible darkenesse of obliuion and forgetfulnesse, if that an other ( as it were a resplendishing and most bright sunne, ) had not ben reserued from the first beeginning of mankinde, that should counteruaile such inconstance and imbecilitie of humaine thinges, whereby not onely to prepare an immortalitie, to sliding and fluxible matters, but chieselie  
O. ( which

which all wee mortall creatures ought to desire, ) to shew the perfect way, to ioyfull felicitie, And that is, the memorie of the acts and doings past of mankinde, which wee vse to call and name a Historie : for when that in mankinde, there is by nature an engraueed appetite and desire of that goodnesse, which is called felicitie, so as what soeuer wee thinke, we iustlie doe any thing, wee refer it to that end of goodnesse and felicitie, but verelie that true goodnesse, and most certaine felicitie consisteth in this point, that we may bee assuredly ioyned and knit with almightie God, and to bee like to him, as hee hath appointed vs : Which vnfainedlie they may affirme, to haue attayned and gotten, who that hauing brought in obedience to reason, the desires of their mindes, and appetites, will found and establishe their vniuersall life vpon vertue, accordingly as to the perfect dignitie of mankinde is required : howbeeit, none there is, that would suppose to haue gotten certainlie and absolutely this felicitie, except hee will liue and be conuersant in that kinde of societie and company of men, which by pollicie and wholesome lawes, being congregated and gathered together is rightly to bee called a citie or common wealth, which truely, then shall be accompted happie, if that three things, ( wherupon due felicitie consisteth, ) shall aide and helpe the same, that is to say, *That it may bee, that well it may bee, that* *alwayes in that stay it may bee* : And forso much as there bee two especiall points, whereunto euery well ruled Citie or Common wealth ought to haue regard, that is to say, to peace and war, and that by peace, rather than

than warres, wee inioy and haue happie liues, considering that warres ought to bee taken in hand to the ende, that wee may in peace liue quietlie : and such desire of peace is in mankinde, that no trauaile, no charge, no daungers and perilles will bee eschewed that peace may bee attayned and gotten, when as thorough the same, each necessarie matter for quiet life is purchased.

But truely, of that kinde of peace I meane, not whan armour is layed a part, wee stay from mouing of warres, and in the meane time rancour and malice to haue domination in our breasts : but rather of such peace, I meane, that is grounded vpon the loue of God and beneuolence in the hartes of each good Citizen, to bee good vnto every one. Albeeit, *Sapience* and *Wisdom* must bee the Queene and vnfalstable guide of vs mortall people, who if shee bee our guide to felicitie, shee is plaine and able inough, of hir selfe to accomplish the same, it is shee that hath Fortune in obedience, it is shee that giueth vertue, deligence, and other good acts, and the same can make fast to remaine in vs : but vnto hir ther be two waies addressed, the one by *Philosophers* and establisers of wholesome lawes, the other, by *Historiographers*, the one by generall precepts of good life & demonstrations of reason, the other, ( by shew and declaration of worthis facts, comming to passe, and sequels of the acts and doings of mankinde, ioyned with varietie of examples, & matters of themselves. ) leadeth & guideth vs to wisdom, & so much this exceedeth the other, as the very acts & doings hath the superiority ouer words & sayings, and

## Of the warres

and as it may be well perceiued of what force it consisteth to allure the mindes of any, to the embrace of the same: for this path way of history, both kings, generals in wars, and chiefelie rulers in common wealthes, citizens young, and olde, rich and poore, miserable, and fortunate, ought to haue in price and estimation, in this to delight, this to loue, and of this to make to themselves a fellow, companion, and familiar, as it, which vnto euery age, degree, and fortune, is most apt, and replenished with euery kinde of examples, as well of priuate as publique fortune: for when we perceiue, how that fortune changeth or ouerturneth and abolisheth high, low, and meane, men, families, common wealthes, nations, Empires and kingdomes; if there bee any thing amongst men, that hath power to encounter and counteruaile fortune, and to stop hir of hir pretended course, it must bee either, onely history, or else none other art can be found, that with the consideration of the ends & examples of the good and euill of all estates and callings, set before our eyes, we may thereby bee brought vnto the desired port of felicitie: For in history, as a most pure and cleere glasse, or as a most ample and large Theatre, and high scaffolde, one may ponder and way, the course the race, and mutations of humaine affaires, the causes, and motions of the euent and commings to passe of the fortunate and infortunate, and of their prudencies and temerities: wherewith, except we be too much guided with follie or slouth, wee may bee brought and led (as it were with hand) to the seate of quiennesse and felicitie: in which, onely tranquillitie, and abundance of all things to bee desired, glorie and immortalitie is found.

## and siege of Malta.

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found. Wherefore hauing not a little considered of what valour, the memory of thinges done is, and how much vilitie and profit the same bringeth to the affaires of mankind: I haue (so much as in mee lieth) not onely endeouored my selfe in much reading of histories, but also the same written in other languages, haue put in latin, and I my selfe likewise, to write the historie of the warres of *Malta*. Howbeit in the great plentie and abundance of the famous acts and doings of worthy persons as, that which pleaseth one, liketh not another; so to me, though not a little it seemeth hard and difficult to giue due ornament of words, vnto the arts and doings of valiant seruicers, I haue taken in hand, to put in perpetuall memorie, the worthy warres done in the said Island of *Malta*, of the which so briefelie as I can, I will shew vnto you the truth.

The warres, which *Solyman* the Emperour of the *Turkes* moued against the knights of the order of Saint *John*, heretofore founded in *Hierusalem*, & now resident in the Island of *Melita* commonly called *Malta*, I purpose to write: not onely because the same seemed to bee meruailous cruell, and doubtfull to which of the parts the victorie would encline, but rather the worthie vertue and force of those excellent defenders, no lesse may vnto each one appeare, then likewise it may bee well perceiued, how much the force of Christian nations, ioyned together may preuaile, and which being sondred and disioyned how little the same can doe: But before I make mention of the beginning of the warres, it is requisit that I should touch somewhat of the originall and beginning of the knights of this order of Saint



Saint John; & by what meanes they first came into this Iland of *Malta*, to the end that euery thing may the more easely & plainly be vnderstood & knowen. At such time as the christians of the *Latin Church*, moued wars against the *Sarazins* & *Turks*, & other barbarous nations, for obtaining of *Hierusalem* & other cities of *Syria*: there were that vowed themselues, & all the goods that they had, to serue in defence of the most sacred religion of our sauiour Christ: Among these, were some that builded Hospitals in *Hierusalem*, for receiuing and lodging of Pilgrimes, & that defended the waies and passages of Pilgrimes from the inuasions of the Infidels, who alwaies studied to annoy the christians: of these, some were called *Ioannits*, some *Templars*, some *Teutones*. Howbeit the *Templars* (about CC. yeres agoe (by meanes of *Philip le Beau* the french king, & *Pope Clement* the fift of that name condemning that order) were viterly destroyed, the orders of the *Ioannits*, and *Teutones* did remaine: Neuerthelesse the truth of the name of the *Ioannits*, is not according to the common fame, which supposeth that it tooke name in the honour of *Saint John the Baptist*, but rather (as saith the *Bishop of Tyrus*, who at that time right grauely wrote the acts and worthy doings of the Christians in the *Orient*: ) that the hospitall & house, (whereof the *Ioannits* doe account themselues to bee bretheren) was founded by the *Amalphitans* people of *Italy*, who traded about affaires of merchandize into the *Orient*, (at such time as the *Egyptian Bishop* whom the *Egyptians* called their *Caliph* ruled in the city of *Hierusalem*) and by them, their order was consecrated to *Saint John* a *Cyprian* borne, *Patriarch* sometime of *Alexandria*, who

who by reason of his great charitie towardes the poore people of God, was called *Saint John the Eleemozinar*: But vnto those, that thinke the name to bee ascribed to *John Hircanus* one of the *Machabees*, they seeme, they would craue authoritie from to much antiquitie: Howbeit I will leaue the credit thereof, vnto the authors and inuentors of the same. Norwithstanding, it is most manifest, that the white *Crosse*, (which the *Ioannits* vie vpon black apparell,) the first toke of one *Gerard* sometime maister of the hospitall in *Hierusalem*: but their institutions & rules, (wherwith their order is governed) one *Raimundo Poggio* a *Florentine* (created with no little authoritie *Magister Equitum*, (according to the warlike order of the ancient *Romains*) did establish, & so in processe of time (both by the liberality of *Princes*, & other nations) they encreasing with wonderfull wealth, & riches, they builded to themselues (by vertue & good order,) such dominacion as it were another kingdome, & attained therewith no little fame & glory, howbeit when as by the space of CC. yeres, they had worthely serued in *Syria* against the infidels: at the last when the infidels had taken *Hierusalem*, they retired themselues vnto *Ptolemais*, a city in *Phoenicia*, & from thence, being expelled by the *Souldan of Egypt*, then with a great nauie (which they gat together, partly by their owne wealth, and partly by the help & aide of the *Templars*, and other christian nations, which succored them) they inuaded the Isle of the *Rhodes*, being possessed at that time by the *Turks*, whom they expelled from thence, where they & their posteritie remayned, vnto such time as by the aforementioned *Solyman*, with a great and meruailous nauie inuading and



and besieging the *Rhodes* (whan as with their owne onely force they could no longer resist, and were forsaken; as it seemed, of all other Christian aide and helpe) they were compelled to yeeld vp the Iland of the *Rhodes* into the hands of the *Turkes*, and so to forsake the same. This fortresse of the *Orient* in such sort beeing lost, and that the *Ioannits*, had retired themselues into the Iland of *Sicilia*: than by the liberalitie of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth of that name, they obteigned the Iland of *Melita* commonly named *Malta*, in the yeere of our Lord God 1529. and there euer sithens haue staid themselues; which Iland (as oportunitie shall serue when heereafter in this historie, I shall entreate of the besieging of the same; and of the counsailes and preparations of *Solyman*;) I will at length describe. The *Ioannits*, thus rested and seled in *Malta*, and their power not a little encreased, they feared not by all the waies and meanes they could to endamage and annoy the *Turkes*, aswell on the seas to spoile the *Turkes*, as also in euery war that our Emperour moued against the *Turkes*; they euer ioynded their forces with the powers of the Emperour. With which so doings *Solyman* moued aswell by his vsuall insatiate appetite of dominacion and rule, as with his auncient hatred conceiued against Christian religion; was meruailouslie offended, and began to note and marke this their doings, and deuised with himselke by what meanes he might driue the *Ioannits*, from the seas, and vtterly (if hee could) to destroy them: therefore with no little dilligence and hast, hee caused a great nauie to bee prepared and rigged forth, and so commaunded to his Admirall and Captaines of his places

on

on the sea coasts, to be in a readinesse at the next spring, whan as, a litle after, in person hee had viewed part of such things as hee had before commaunded, and part by intelligence hee had vnderstoode, to bee in readinesse. Than calling his nobilitie together in counsaile, he vsed these kinde of woords to them (as was reported) which follow.

That, which by these fortie yeeres I haue alwayes desired, that after myne other warres, I might get so much leisure, whereby I might once driue out from their nests these boasting *Cruciats*, glorying so much themselues, to bee the chiefeest propugnacle and fortres of the Christians. The same occasion, (mee thinketh) I haue now obtayned thorough the help of the great God and *Mahumet*. For, as touching the attempts of the *Persians* I haue in such sort repressed, that they cannot harme vs. And as concerning the troubles fained to bee in *Hungary*, I trust to giue such orders in that behalfe, that our enimie ther, shall bee glad to get and hide himselke in the furthest part of *Germany*, and to be fayne to demaunde & craue peace at our hands.

You, your selues, are not ignoraunt what complaints are daylie made vnto vs by our subiects and marchannts whom those of *Malta* (whom rather pirats than soldiours I call) whan they get themselues to the Seas, they vtterly spoyle and reauce from them all that they haue. The iniuries of whom, and others vnto vs done, both Gods law and mans, doth mooue vs to reuenge. Nor truly there can be any thing more acceptable, or ioyful to me, or more aptly can purchase to me an Immortall fame, than that I might bring to passe (beefore I depart from

P

this

The woord  
Solyman,  
his Nobilitie

this mortall lyfe,) two things, the one to winne the *Island* of *Malta*, the other is to haue whole *Hungary* and the landes and dominions of *Sarmatia* in subiection.

Except some will thinke that it will bee greater difficultie to mee, to expell these *Cruciats* out of their Rocks of *Malta*, than to our elders that droue theyr predecessors both out of *Hierusalem* and whole *Syria*, and to vs also that after, expelled them out of the *Isle* of *Rhodes*. But this *Island* (you will say) is more nigh *Italy*, from whens ayde may soone come, and with their *Nauies* the easilier to bee defended.

Beeleeue and credit mee, that the *Italians* dare not fight against vs on the seas; whan they remember how oft they haue had the ouerthrow at our handes. As for any great garrisons, the place being so litle and straight, they cannot haue. And if they haue, they cannot feede them long. Wherefore for their affaires, wee entende this next Spring, to set forwards our mightie *Nauie*, and for that purpose wee haue already giuen in commandement to euerie of our Captaines of the Seas, that with theyr Gallies and Shippes, they may bee in a readynesse to depart.

The King of *Arger* will bee there to serue vs. Our Garrisons remayning at *ALEXANDRIA*, in *EGYPT* are in readynesse. The *Nauie* of *Dorgutes*, are likewise rigged soorth to serue vs, by my meanes. To this great and mightie *Nauie* of ours, wee doubt not but that the force of the *Occident* wil giue place: Which with the ayde of the grear God and *Mahumet*, and your inuincible courage, I firmly hope will come to passe.

There resteth no more, but for you to thincke,  
how

how these warres may conueniently proceede, and to giue to vs your saythfull aduises and counsayles in the same.

Which that you may the better doe, bechelde heere beefore your eyes the plat of the whole *Island* of *Malta*, and of euerie fortresse in the same, which I receiued from certayne friendes of myne right expert in discryuing of such matters. The woords of *Solyman* thus declared, and throughlie considered by those, to whome both the *Island* and the order of the same, was right well knowne, and by them declared, what, conuenientlie was in that beehalfe to bee done.

It was fullie resolved and concluded, that the *Nauie* so in a readynesse at the appoynted tyme should set forward, and to depart. And so the *Nauie* being vitailed, and the Soldiours shipped, tarryed onelie for windes. Of these proceedings of the *Turke*, *Seignior Iean Valet*, a French man borne, and at that tyme great Maister of *Malta*, both by letters and Espialls getting intelligence, for that hee had at *Constantinople* such friends, as most prudently gat knowledge of the secret counsaile and doings of *Solyman*, as one not affrayde but alwayes thincking that victories remayned in the handes of God, and that the part of a prudent Generall and others at his commandement, is to bee alwayes vigilant, dilligent and to woorke by Counsyle, and therefore hee called togethers a Counsaile of the Knights of the order, to whom in few woords hee dyd speake to this effect following.

P.ii.

What,

## Of the warres

words  
let the  
malta to  
annits.

What, *Solyman* the *Turke* (most noble and valyaunt knights) prepareth, and how great and mightie warres hee entendeth to mooue against vs, I thincke of late you haue vnderstood, so well, as I doe, whereof to make any long circumstance of woordes to you, I neede not. The enimie is knowen, his insatiate desire of dominatiō and rule is knowen, his might and force is knowen, yea, & his continuall hatred against vs & the Christian faith is no lesse knowen to you. But now rather let euerie of vs, doe our endeouour to haue first almightie God to be our friend, and than to prepare euerie thing for the warres. Almighty God would be our friend, and we assuredly shall please him, if wee doe two things. One, if wee from hence forth, amende our liues, the other is, if wee honour him with pure religion and to haue a firme hope & trust in him, which is called *Pietie*. With these vertues, our famous elders, obtained innumerable victories against the infidells, in the *Orient*. And there is no doubt, but, if with the like vertues, we be furnished, wee shall giue ouerthrow to the cruell purposes of this bluddie Tyrant. Howbeit, for so much as Almighty God is ready to aide such as would be circumspect & apt to doe well, and not the slowthfull, and cowardes: Let vs therefore prouide for those necessities as both our profesion requireth, and order of warres, willeth. Whereof part, in our selues consisteth, & part in other Christian Princes remayneth. As for victuall, money, armour, and other things which order of warres desireth, wee shall so prouide for the same, that you shall well vnderstand, that money, in necessities, I will not spare, and much lesse, labour, where I may employ it.

In

## and siege of Malta.

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In these affaiers I will bee ready to spend all that I can make. And for any safegard of my lyfe, I will not eschew any perill. As touching other Princes, I cannot beeleeue, that (vpon such waightie occasions whereof the perill no lesse toucheth them, than vs,) they would bee negligent to giue vs ayde. As for the *Popes holynesse*, the *Emperour*, and the king of *Hispanie*, I doubt not (for the Pietie and godlynesse in them remayning) but that they will succour and aide vs to the vitermost, and that also they will mooue others to doe the lyke; And as for you, most worthie lampes and lights of Christians and others of our most louing bretheren knights, of this sacred and martiall order, I doubt not but that you all, will so couragiously and valiantly fight against this most cruell tyrant, subuerter & ouerturner of the true religion of God, and oppressor of all good conditions, manners, Artes, and discipline, in defence of our Christian Religion, liues, goods, and glorie of the Latin Church, that the view of the glorious Crosse of ours, (which this vile dog) so much abhorreth and contempneth) may bee teene to his perpetual care in *Constantinople* (where he dwelleth.) Wee haue not now affaires in the *Isl* of *Rhodes*, farre from our aydes and succors out of *Asia*, *Europe*, and *Aegypt*, compassed about, with the enimie, both by land and sea: but rather in the view and face of *Italie* & strong fortified places, wherby the enemy may be easilie overthrowne. That it may so bee, let vs make earnest prayer to almightie God. When the great master had thus giuen ende to his most prudent woordes. The Knights of the order which than were present,

P.iiij. with

## Of the warres

with one voyce answered, that sooner theyr liues should take ende, than that so comman a cause for want of theyr endeauours should quaille, or that they on liue, to come into the handes of that cruell tyrant *Solyman*.

After common prayers and generall processions, commaunded to bee done in euerie Church in the *Island* of *Malta*: there were immediatlie of the order of the Knights, three chosen, to bee *Tribuni* or generall iurucious, whereof one an *Italian* by surname called *Imperadore*; the other a French man borne, named *Borraye*; the third, a *Spaniard*, borne in *Aragone*, called *Quatrius*, gentlemen of great prouidence, foresight, and right expert in knowledge of warres.

Who according to theyr prudence hauing considered euery thing meete to this warre, they immediatly dyd put the same in readinesse. For they, considering, that the suburbs and trees, nigh vnto places of fortification would not a litle bee an anoynce to the same, they immediatly caused them to bee cast downe. Thus the fortifications being viewed, and the Garrisons of euery fortress there, augmented, and the same abundantly victualled according to the considered necessitie thereof. Letters were immediatly sent from the great master both to the *Popes holinesse* and other *Princes*, together with diuerse messengers into sundrie places, that might giue intelligence heereof as well to the knights of this order remaining among other nacions, as to others. Of which letters, one written to *Pius* the fourth of that name, Pope of *Rome*, that of this, the others may bee well considered, this (as followeth) is the Copie.

While

## and Siege of Malta.

27

**W**Hile that I endeauored my selfe with the force of this our order to withstand the great *Turkish* nauie now in readinesse to approach towards vs: I found my selfe in manner vnarmed from euery necessary, which of my selfe I colde neuer haue furnished, if your exceeding goodnesse (most holy father) both with your Letters, money, and one Ensigne of valiant Soldiours had not ayded me. So that otherwise I had not knowne, how wel to haue done.

The Letter fro  
the great ma-  
ster of Malta  
to Pope Pius  
the fourth of  
that name.

For considering by reason of the sundrie threatenings which the Turcke made these sundrie yeeres past, against this place and order, I haue beene brought to such intollerable charges that I know by no meanes, how to come out of debte, of the money that I haue borrowed, besides the interest daylie thereof encreasing.

Howbeit a greater matter encombereth my mynde, which is, (whether this armie of the *Turkes* eyther shall proceede, or stay,) when I perceiue, him, beeing our generall enemy, so dilligent to set forward his Nauie and continually busie about his other afayres of warres, and wee of this order, to bee put to these intollerable charges.

Will not any thinke, that, right great is the folie of vs Christians, that will suppose, that when the power of the Christians is such, that scarce it beeing able to defende themselues: The *Turke* will feare to receiue any detryment at our hands. What courage will hee conceiue, when none of vs encountereth his intollerable pride.

Bee-

Besides hee well knoweth, that if he might get but togethers his onely pirats that remayne heere in the Ponent or West parts, hee were able, of them, in mine opinion to make a greater Nauie and Armie by sea; than that we Christians with no litle difficulty made against him the other yeere. Which the like againe, this yeere, I would bee right glad to see. Howbeit who is so ignoraunt that if such a Nauie and force may bee made of his onely Pirats, what if a great part or the whole power of his Countries in the leuant and Orient, were ioyned together, may not hee than doe vs a greater detriment, if God of his goodnesse doe not slay him, vnto such tyme as Christian Princes haue cōuenient space to gather themselves together to encounter so puissaunt and mightie an enemy.

And whan as it seemeth that the *Princes* of the Christians so much neglecterh the fauour of God, that with no detriments and with no infamies, they will awake from their too long sleepe and slouth, it is to bee feared that God will take of his hand and to let slip to this cruell tyrant, occasion and power to accomplish his long desired minde and furie vpon all vs Christians, that no power which heereafter shall bee against him made, can bee able to withstand his crueltie.

Which inconueniences, I doubt not, but that your holynesse, long, beefore this time, hath considered, and that worthe minde of yours is enflamed with the desire of so holy and Godly reuengement as is to bee done vpon so common a cruell enemy & hethen dog.

But

But I feare to seeme to much arrogant, in your holynesse sight, that haue taken so much boldnesse vpon me to intreat vpon such affaires so rudely with your holynesse, to whose diuine prouidence these things are better knowne than to mee. Neuerthelesse whan as such things, which by eies are scene, doe a great deale more moue vs, then that which we heare with our eares, then I hauing these things continually before mine eyes, am so affected, that I cannot in such waightie affaires hold my tongue, but most humbly and lowlie doe beseech your holynesse, not for this sacred order of knights sake, onely, which alwaies is and shalbe ready to liue & die for the defence of the Christian religion, (considering by our profession no kinde of death must be refused, where due occasion shall be ministred,) but also in the name of whole christendome that so much already hath tasted your most godly and paternall zeale and loue towards them, that for the publique tranquillitie of the same touching matters of faith, you laied aside all your owne priuate commodities and affaires, calling together of late a counsaile generall: now that you would vouchsafe, to call some other counsaile together (being a matter of no lesse importance, to repaire the wofull ruines of long times past, and to eschew worle to come) whereby Christian princes gathering themselves together may conuert and turne their powers against this pestiferous serpent; and to driue him into his auncient limits, that no longer, hee haue power to deuoure such multitude of Christians; as to the great shame of Christendome he hath done: For so far wee haue scene him spred his deadly poison, that now hee

Q.

hath

## Of the warres

hath in maner compassed the little limits of the christi-  
an kingdomes: now considering that all domesticall  
and ciuill warres beeing vtterly extinguished, and assur-  
ed amitie and peace by the prouidence of God bee-  
ing resident among Christian princes, it beehoueth  
vs now to awake. For if by misfortune our prin-  
ces againe should fall to any new vvarres among  
themselues, this importunate beast would not sleepe,  
but would seeke how hee may worke our vtter ru-  
ine. Truly most holy father, for the great pietie and  
singuler prudence in your holynesse remaining, I hope  
that so great an occasion of laude and perpetuall gla-  
ry (whereby you may deleue well towards both God  
and man,) you would leaue to no successor of yours:  
With this hope I will comfort my selte, trusting before  
I shall depart fro this mortall life, to see this sacred iour-  
ney to bee aduanced against our cruell and common e-  
nemie of Christes religion, becsides which, nothing  
can happen to mee more ioyfully, or bee to mee a  
greater felicitie: If therefore in these matters, I haue  
beene either longer, or more liberall of writing, than  
to mee hath appertained, I hope that of your fa-  
thely clemency, you will giue pardon vnto me, whom  
no little care of our Christian religion rather then  
rashnesse hath mooued mee thus to wright: And for  
my part for your perpetuall goodnesse or rather pietie  
towards this our order, I most humbly render to your  
holynesse immortall thanks, and so will continue to  
doe during life, and so doe beseech almighty God  
to preſerue your holynesse in good and prosperous  
life. About this time *Dom Garza di Toledo*, the Vice-  
roy

## and siege of Malta.

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roy of *Sicilia*, vnder *Philip* king of *Spain*, and gouernour  
of all his graces navy in thole parts, fearing that the na-  
uie of *Solyman*, vnder coulour to seeme that hee would  
inuaide *Malta*, would straight passe to the *Gulet*, a Castle  
standing in the straites and entering of the poole or  
stagne of *Tunes*, and to beesiege the same, therefore he  
passed ouer to the castle of *Gulet*, both to furnish the  
same with new supplie of *Garrison*, and other necessa-  
ries thereunto appertaining, and in his way, the *Viceroy*  
touched at *Malta*, and there landed to confer with the  
great master, touching the warres pretended against  
*Malta*: But they hauing intelligence that the navy of  
*Solyman* was departed from *Constantineple*, so as by rea-  
son of small time, they could not tarry so long toge-  
thers as the waight of the cause required, *Dom Garza*  
immediatly departed from *Malta*, vnto the castle of *Gule-*  
*let* in *Barbaria*, which when he had viewed, and furnish-  
ing the same with such necessities as it lacked, hee re-  
turned with all possible diligence into *Sicilia*, to rig &  
set forward ther the kings navy. But the meane time, the  
navy of *Solyman* the xxii. of *March* in the yere of our sa-  
uiour Christ M.D.lxv began vnloose from *Constantino-*  
*ple*, & the next day after departed from that port towards  
*Peleponneso*, & so came to *Methone*. Ther *Mustapha Bessa* a  
man of the age of lxxv. yeres, being appointed to be ge-  
nerall of the *Turks* army by land, ther mustered his army  
where of his horsemen called *Spachi*, which came out of  
the lesser *Asia*, were seauen thousand, hauing to their  
captaine a gentleman of the same prouince of *Asia*, with  
two liuetenants. Out of *Cilicia* came v. C from the Iland  
of *Mitilena* came also iiii. C y of euery of their prouinces

Q.ii.

had

1565.  
The 22 of  
March the  
Turks navy  
vnloosed from  
Constantino-  
ple.

## Of the warres

had captaines from whence they came: he had also of olde souldiers, whom they call *Japizers*, foure thousand five hundred, to whom *Solyman* himselfe appointed two Captaines to bee their leaders, considering that their generall whom the *Turkes* ( in their tongue ) call *Aga*, neuer departeth out of *Constantinople*: Besides this, there be among the *Turkes*, a kinde of souldiers that liue of the fruits and stipends of their spiritualtie, of these in this army were thirteene thousand, who at *Constantinople* had vowed themselves to serue for the defence of their faith and Emperour. There came also out of *Thracia* and *Peloponneso* two Captaines, and one liutenant with a thousand two hundred horsemen, & three thousand and five hundred other souldiers that came from diuers places, voluntary to serue for wages: there likewise, did *Pial Bassa* the *Turkes* Admirall, muster his navy wher he found to be a hundred & thirtie gallies, cleauen ships of burden of the lesser sort, a cleauen ships of burden of the greater making, besides a great ship that was broken besides *Methone*, in which were then fixe thousand barrells of gun powder, thirtie thousand shot, and fixe hundred *Spachi*, of the which scarce two hundred were saued. There came also from the Island of the *Rhodes* ten gallies, vnder the guiding of *Halipors* a man of the age of threescore and tenne, two gallies from *Mitylene* vnder the leading of *Salach*, brother to the king of *Alger*, that newly was dead, also there were other foists & pirats ships, about the number of seauenteene. With this great and mightie navy, the *Turks* departed from *Methone* the thirteenth day of Maie, and arriued at *Malta* the eighteenth day of the saide moneth of

## and siege of *Malta*.

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of Maie, and tooke first port at the North east part of the Island, which the inhabitants call *Marzafirocco*. But the *Turkes* perceiuing that they had not a safe rodested there, they remoued from thence to another rodested of that Island, called *Maiaro*. All this time the famous pirate *Dorguta* was not come, it was said, he was tarieng in the Island called *Meninges*, commonly named *Gerbus*, with his ships, and in readinesse to come, and that hee had sent to the king of *Tunes*, foure peeces of artillery of brasse, and other things, which hee gaue to him, to the end that the king should not aide the Christians in these wars, but rather to help the *Turks* with a certaine porcion of victuall according to the agreement made betwixt them, and for these and other causes it was sayed that the *Turks* would first goe vnto the *Galat*, or else of purpose these newes were sowed, to the ende that those of *Malta* crediting the same, should at vnawares be surprised: But the great maister of *Malta* ( being a man of a meruailous quicke and ingenious wit, and therewith right expert in the act of warres, and also wonderfull constant and circumspect against the practises and pollicies of the enimie ) did fore cast these diuerses and counsailes of the enimie, and right well did espie their purposes on euery side, in his gentlemen and souldiers all, there was espied to rest an assured constancy and meruailous liuelinesse to serue in so worthy and most honorable cause: howbeit beefore I further proceede, this place requireth, to discerne vnto you the situation of this Island called *Melita* otherwise *Malta*. & of the especiall places thereof ( wherein so many worthis acts were done, ) to make mencion. The Island

Q.iii. *Malta*

The 18<sup>th</sup> Maie  
the Naue of  
the *Turks* arri-  
ued at *Malta*.



descripti-  
Malta.

*Malta* is placed betwixt *Africk* and *Sicilia*, and doubted whether it should belonge to *Africk* or *Eutrope*, if it had not ben. that the ancient inhabitants of *Melita* time out of minde, hauing vsed the common language of those of *Africk*, haue alwaies reputed the Island to bee a member of *Africk*. This Island from the North east to the North west is drawn in length twenty miles, & in breadth twelue miles, & from the place wher it is broadest, it proceedeth to be strait & narrow vpon the south towards that part of *Africk*, where those famous quicke sands remaine that are called *Sirtis Minor*, vpon the coast whereof is situated that towne which is named *Leptis Parua*, & vpon the North facing *Silicia*, being more towards the Promontory or lands end therof, called *Pachino* than vnto *Lilybeo*, & in compasse and circuit threescore miles: the *Carthagians* first inhabited this Island, & after, as I vnderstand one *Battus*, the first builder of the famous citie of *Cyrenes*, did reigne there in the time of *Dido*, which afterward came againe in subiection of the *Carthagians* & so remained vnder their dominion vnto such time as the same in the second wars of the *Carthagians*, that they with their navy on the seas, being overthrowen came into the hands of the *Romaines*: at which time those of *Malta* were supposed to be very wealthy by reason of the repaire & much concourse of sundry nations, through trade of marchandize that frequented thether, and famous, through sundry notable artes there vsed, & also of their notable Cotton which is very soft & white, there growing, of which sundry garments are made by those of *Malta* and had much in estimation. This Island is well replenished with hony there growing, whereof some

some suppose this Island to haue the name, and also very famous with the growth there, of sweet roles: the trees there, haue fruit twile in the yeere, and oft times two harvests there, in one yeere, chiefly of barley flax & Cotton: Howbeit the ground ther euery where, is stony, vneuen, as heere an hill, there a vale, very vnfruitfull for trees, albe it there groweth, the figge tree, Apple tree, Almonde tree and Vines planted with the much labour and diligence of the inhabitant, they haue wilde date trees but vnfruitfull, they haue exceeding plenty of great thistles, which they vse for their sewell and fire. In this Island of *Malta* is meruailous scarcetie of sweet water, which neither the skies (by reason of little rayne there) giueth, nor yet the grounds there, yeeldeth. And for such fontaines and wells that there bee, such lybelles that it is the rayne that falleth in winter that maketh them, and yet they bee halfe salt and brackish, and drie in sommer. The Inhabitants through the exceeding heate of the Sunne are so tanned, that they looke in colour much like to the *Aethiopsians* so that rather in winter each thing that there groweth, seemeth to bee more pleasant to the view & sight. The men of this Island for the most part are very healthfull of bodie, of slender diet, very diligent and painefull rather than apt to wars, whom old age sooner than disease and sickness, doth take them from this life. Their forme of buildings (except their citie which is situated in the midst of the Island somewhat more towards the South, which also is called *Melita*) hauing certaine suburbs about the same, are long & low not much vnlike

## Of the warres

vnlike the sheepe cotes of *Barbaria*, couered with reede or thacht: the little and prety dogs called the *Miletean Dogs*, are supposed to come forth of this Island, which *Pliny* rather ascribeth to the other Island likewise called *Malta*, lying in the gulse of *Venice*, betweene the Island *Cursula* and the shore of *Dalmatia*. In this Island of *Melita* called *Malta*, some affirme that *Saint Paule* the *Apostle* after shipwracke there did land: howbeit let them beeware, it be not the other *Malta*, in the gulse of *Venice* that *Saint Luke* makes mencion of, when as *Saint Paule* in the the sea *Adriatico* otherwise called the gulse of *Venice*, was tossed too and fro with cruell tempests of weather, but that he came out of that sea, into the other sea of *Mediterraneum*, where the Island of *Malta* standeth, it appereth not in *Saint Luke*. And as to that, which they say, no venemous beast neither there is engendred, nor, if from any other place, any venemous beast be brought into that Island doth harme, and the same so hath continued there, sithens that time *Saint Paule*, did cast of from his hands the viper and adder, that would haue stung him: howbeit it may be thought that this Island hath naturally had that property, as likewise those Islands therabouts called *Gaulo*, *Galata*, and *Clupea*, at this day haue the like vertue by nature, & sundry other Islands in that sea of *Mediterraneum*, as others other wher: for the Island of *Candye* nourisheth no manner of venemous beast, as *England* hath no *Wolues*, nor *Ireland* any *Serpent*, considering both the aire of the places and nature of the grounds, are contrarious to the same: but touching this matter, as sundry haue their diuers mindes, so, that which hath seemed to make against the common opinions

## and siege of *Malta*.

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opinions by any probable maner, I haue thought good by the way not to let passe, but so my purpose I will returne *Malta* vpon that part, which is towards *Sicilia*, is bowed and croked into sundry bayes and rodesteds meet for the riding of shippes: as for hauens and ports this Island of *Malta* hath two, besides the haueu vpon the East part of that Island, called *Marzafracke*, and besides also the rodested of *Saint Thomas*, and an other which is not far distant from the same, called *Scal* or *Stala*: of these two aforementioned hauens or ports, there is one which stretcheth from the South to the North, alongest the side of a long peece of ground of the said Island, in forme like vnto halfe an Island, and this haueu of the inhabitants is called *Marzamusetto*; the other haueu stretching from the East to the West is likewise named *Porto Maior*. Vpon the vttermost part and front of this halfe Island is situated a Castle or fortresse right stronglie fortified both by nature and art, called *Saint Elmo*, whom heereafter I will name *Saint Hermes*. To him that entreteth into the other haueu called *Porto Maior*, there doe appeare vpon the left hand thereof, foure long peeces of ground towards the sea, as it were certaine little halfe Islands or promontories, with as many rodesteds or baies for ships therunto appertaining: vpon the first of these said foure promontories is situated a certaine *Gallos*, being the common place of execution for offenders: vpon the second promontorie is planted an exceeding strong castle vpon an incredible high and ragged rocke of stone, called the castle of *Saint Angelo*, nigh vnto the which, there is adioyning a towne seuered from the castle but with a dike and wall called

R.

*Borgo*,

## Of the warres

*Borgo*, and sometime the new towne, cut and made out of a rocke right well fortified both with the sea, and art of the souldiour. In the Castle of *Saint Angelo*, the great Maister of *Malta* remaineth, & in the towne, the knights of the order are resident. Vpon the third promontorie there is a towne also called *Borgo*, and a Castle called *Saint Michael*. The fourth promontorie is vninhabited: hauing a mightie baie in the same, stretching to the water of *Marza*, and in manner to halfe the Island as beefore I haue said. Againe from the hauen or port of *Musetto* towards the West, there appeareth an other rodested, which is dedicated to *Saint George*, and an other called *Benorrat*: beyonde lieth the port of *Saint Pauls*, not much lesse then that, which is on the *Oriental* part of the Island, after, is the rodested called *Saly-narum*. Vpon the other side of the Island which is towards *Africk* is the rodested called *Miliaria*: there bee also sundry other little Islands not farre from *Malta*, as the Island of *Gaulos*, which some suppose to be *Cosira*, at this day called *Gozo*, in compasse thirty miles, towards the West of *Malta*, not passing fise miles distant, by sea from *Malta*, which Islande of *Gozo*, in the yeere of our Lord 1551 was taken and wasted by the *Turks* and sixe thousand captiues, out of that Island were taken & had away, at such time as the towne of *Tripolis* in *Africke*, (which sometime was called *Leptis Magna*,) was wone by the *Turkes*, from the knights of this order. Betweene *Gozo* and the West side of *Malta*, there lieth two other Islands, whercof the greater, commonly is called *Cumino*, and the lesser *Cuminetto*, seuered the one from the other, with the sea, beeing there verie narrow.

At

## and siege of *Malta*.

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At the South and by West part of *Malta*, there is an other little Island called at this day *Piper*: All which Islands are in obedience to the great Maister of *Malta*, the rest for the most part are compassed with huge rockes, and raging seas, thus of *Malta* and the inhabitants thereof, (somuch as appertaineth to the knowledge of this present matter,) I thinke there is inough saide. The meane time, what power and army *Monnier Valet* the great Maister of *Malta*, had to withstand the *Turks* ariual, I will shew vnto you first of all. In the Island were a thousand and three hundred souldiers, that tooke wages: of a thousand of those, some were *Spaniards*, some *French men*, and some *Florintines*, the rest were *Neapolitans*: There also were a thousand, that frequented the seas, pertaining to the Naue of the Knights of *Malta*, and fise hundred in the towne of *Saint Angelo*: Of the inhabitants of the Island were about fise thousand, that were trained for the warres, and were retired from their Countie habitations to *Borgo*, where the great Maister was resident. There were also fise hundred Knights of the order, besides the Priests and esquires, for there bee three sortes of them, that in this order of *Malta* are called bretheren: And this was the vvhole number that defended the Castles and Townes of *Saint Hermes*, *Angelo*, and *Michael*, into the vvhich the souldiers were distributed, accordingly as each place was thought requisite to bee defended. In the Citie of *Malta* (vvhich beefore I mencioned,) were placed two hundred souldiers besides the citizens, & foure hundred chosen out of the rest of the vvhole Island,

R.ii

and

and three hundred, also that serued on horsebacke, ynto this garrison of the citie of *Malta*, was appointed to be generall, one *S<sup>r</sup> Io. Vagno a Moncalerio*, a gentleman borne in the cōtrie of *Piemont*: besides these things, was prepared a meruailous furniture of victuall, armour, weapon, and necessaries, which vsually was to be provided, meet for abiding of a long siege and other wants, and about all other, that which is to be desired against euery infortunitie, there was planted in euery one that there serued, an inuincible courage, which oft times maketh the ouerthrowen to be victorious. Things beeing in this order and readinesse, and vnderstanding that seauen and twentie of the gallies of the *Turkes* had taken the port of *Marzascracco*, and had landed certaine of their souldiers: Immediately *Gyon* the Captaine of the nauie of the order of *Malta*, a right diligent and forward gentleman accompanied with fiftie Arquebusiers was sent to view the enimie, and in so much as he could to endeaour to draw the enimie to some open places: But the *Turks* espying them, right quickly retired to their gallies againe: at an other part, where the greater part of the *Turks* nauie rode, ther were landed two hundred *Turks*, & vpon them gaue a charge, one *Riuier* a gentleman of france, accompanied with eight other horsemen, who hauing his horse slaine vnder him, and with the losse of one of his companions, came into the handes of the enimie, While these matters were in doing, a christian man a captiue among the *Turkes* slippt from them, as they rode in the port of *Vulturno*, and fled into the citie of *Malta*, and discovered there to the generall, the purpose of the enimie, saying that the deuile of

Musta-

*Mustapha* the generall of the *Turkes* army was, that the most part of their army should land with their great artillery, and to besiege and giue batterie to the fortified places, whose opinion *Paisle Bassa*, the *Turks* Admirall, did vtterly mislike, saying that if he so did, he should but come to his manifest destruction, considering they had not passing eight thousand *Janizers*, and ten thousand *Spachies*, besides a rude and vnttrained companie of mariners to be left in the shippes, wherefore vnto such time as *Dorguta* should come, who euery houre was looked for hee would enterprise nothing at whose coming, hee would then agree, that the castle of *Saint Hermes* should first bee besieged. For *Solyman* the Emperour of the *Turkes*, did commaund that nothing should bee done without the aduise and counsaile of *Dorguta*, such confidence and credit had this barbarous prince in the warlike knowledge and practise of *Dorguta*: But whether this intelligence were true or fayned, the *Turks* neuerthelesse riding in the port of *Vulturno*, landed twentie thousand of their souldiers, with fife field peeces, and encamped themselnes right stronglie in a place, which those of *Malta* call *Azorbar*: that done *Pial Bassa* accompanied with seauen thousand with him departed to view the situacion of the fortresse of *Saint Michael*, vpon that part which loketh towards *Saint Katherines Church*, and durst not approach nigher, because the artillery of the fortresse began to shoote of a pace, against him and his company, besides, certaine of the garison of the fortresse, made a salie and issue vpon the enimie, and in such sort behaved themselues that one named *Curseline*, by surname called *Prata* a gentleman

R.iii.

man

The *Turkes*  
landing in  
*Malta*.

Consultation  
of the Turkes.

man of right singuler worthines, hauing in his company but one onely *Spaniard*, valiantly bereft an ensigne from the enimie, & killed a *Sangiaco*, and certaine others of the *Turks*. So the *Turks* retired to their campe, vvhheramong the Princes of the same, consultation vvas had, vvhe-ther it were better, that battery should be first layed to the fortresse of *Saint Hermes*, or to the towne of *Saint Michael*: Finallie it was concluded that the fortresse of *Saint Hermes* should first bee besieged. So the *Turks* to view the fortresse, mounted vpon a hill, who beeing perceiued by those of the fortresse, issue and salie was made, and therewith a skirmish on both sides beegan, and after a few slaime on each part, each side retired. Matters in this sort growing hotte, the Prince of *Malta*, hauing in memorie those thinges that were to bee done, thought it most conuenient to vrge and stirre the *Viceroy* of *Sicilia*, in hast to set forward his Nauy, that then was in rigging. Therefore hee commaunded a gallie to bee with all diligence, set in a readinesse to depart towards *Sicilia*, for the conuaying of one named *Saluago*, a knight of that order, for the exploit of such matters of charge, wherewith he then commanded him. The meane time the *Turkes* began to erect a Mount, of intent both to batter the fortresse of *Saint Hermes*, & to anoy the ships of *Malta*, as they rode in the port, that therby they might open a more safe entry, for their gallees that were abroad. Howbeit the fortresse of *Saint Elmo* otherwise called *S. Hermes*, so troubled them with the strokes of their great artillery, that the *Turkes* were faine to forsake that peece of fortification, before the same could take end, which partly

Vallum extru-  
unt. Pa. 40.

partly discouraged the boldnesse of the *Turks*. During which time, the *Turk Ochial* with sixe ships hauing in the same nine hundred souldiers deducted, out of the gar- rison of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, came as a supply to the encrease of the force of the *Turkes*. Therefore the *Turks* began an other fortification vpon an higher plat of ground then before they did, whereby, not onely they wonderfully annoied, the port where the ships of *Malta* had their rodested, but also troubled with their great shot, the castle of *Saint Angelo*, and besides with entrenching they gate night the Castle of *Saint Hermes*, albeit, at the first they had much to doe therewith, considering they of the fortresse did what they could to enbar them, notwithstanding in the end the *Turks* with much labour and diligence wherein they exceede all other nations, they accomplished their trench. Wherefore the *Turkes*, with no little expedition, in such sort and place planted their great artillery, that they determined, both the castle of *Saint Angelo* & *Saint Michael*, should be encombe- red with the stroke of their Canon. This while, there was in the Campe of the *Turks*, a *Spaniard*, a gentleman, A fugitiue. albeit a slaue, he, when he had assuredly learned a part of the pretences of the *Turkes*, gaue intelligence of the same to *Mounfier Valet* the prince of *Malta* by a Christian that was a fugitiue, which when the prince vnderstood, he sent two ensignes of *Spaniards* into the castle of *Saint Hermes*, vnder the leading of the valiant captaines *Cerda* and *Miranda*, to supply a certaine want ther. which after was to the great defence of the castle of *Saint Hermes*, & detriment of the enimie. This season ariued *Dorguta* the *Turk*, the general of *Tripolis* accompanied with thirteene ships

Decem Bue-  
mes.

ships and one thousand sixe hundred souldiers in them, after him also came tenne Brigantines, which brought two ensignes of men of war, from the towne of *Bona* in *Barbaria*, and out of the Island of *Meninges*. The meane time *Saluago* (a *Genuan* borne, a knight of the order and a very forward gentleman) who (as before) was sent into *Sicilia*, arriued at the citie of *Messana*, who (after hee had declared to the *Viceroy*, his charge, and the state wherein *Malta* was,) was commaunded to ship himselte againe in a barque that was prepared for him to depart, for whose safe conduction two gallies vnder the regiment of the Captaines *Cornissone* and *Santalo*, knights also of that order were commanded to accompany him; who left him not vntill hee was nigh the Island of *Malta*, and then retourned backe into *Sicilia*, but *Saluago*, not without meruailous daunger of his person, and but with losse of one of his men, passed with his ship through the midst of the enimie into the towne of *Burgo*, about three of the clocke in the morning. This while, the *Turks* seemed to change their deuise, where they once determined to haue besieged both *Saint Hermes* and *Saint Michael*, but now encamped themselues at the water of *Marza*, being a fountaine there, which made the entrie of *Saluago* to be more difficult and perillous: Howbeit after *Saluago* had declared to the great Maister his charge, from the *Viceroy* of *Sicill*, immediatly the great Maister caused him to depart into *Sicilia* againe, and to shew to the *Viceroy*, that they had great neede to haue more aide of souldiers, and that for the time hee would vouchsafe to helpe them with the supplie of an other ensigne or two of chosen souldiers

souldiers, that the better they might withstand the furie of the enimie vntill further ayde came. *Saluago* neither sparing labour, or dreading perill, immediatly gat himselte to the sea, and in short time landed in the Port of *Sarragosa*, in *Sicilia*, where hee found those two Gallies, whereof I told you before, and in them caused foortwith to bee shipped (as was appoynted) foure hundred souldiors, among whom, were sundrie knights of the order of *Melita*, and with them also were sent certaine expert Gunners and Cannoners.

These so shipped, *Saluago* gaue aduise that they should eschew the West part of the Island *Melita*, and compassing about, should endeavor themselues to draw towards the East part thereof, and so to get vnto the South coast of the Island, and there to land at the port called *Miliare*, and from thence by night to conduct the souldiors (by places of couert,) vnto the Citie of *Melita* which from their landing place was not past foure miles distant, and so from thence easilie to get vnto the Castell of *Saint Michael*. Which aduise so giuen *Saluago* departed to *Messana*, and there shewed to the *Viceroy* the furie of the warres in *Melita*, and the great lacke of souldiors there, and required that hee might haue but a thousand foote-men besides those which hee had already sent, and than hee verilie hoped that the furie of the *Turkes* should for a time bee endured, vnto such time as the *Viceroy* with his nauie should giue further succour.

While these matters were putting in redinesse, which might haue had more hast, if that our Christian Princes in so weightie and daungerous causes had not seemed to haue slept too much: the third day of the moneth of

S

Iune,



<sup>1</sup> The first assault. <sup>n</sup> June, which was the holy day dedicated to saint *Hermes*, the *Turkes* sodainely went to assault the fortresse of saint *Hermes*, supposing to haue gotten by scaling of short ladders that part of a new fort which the Christians had builded ioyning nigh vnto the conterescarp of the Castell. But the Christians with the help of a new *Casemach* made strong and large in the dike, with faggot & earth, (which before had no manner of defence there) and by the ayde of the Castell also, worthelie withstood the enimie; In such sort as that they filled the dike of the fort with the dead bodies of the *Turkes*. The *Turkes* notwithstanding (by reason of their multitude, wherewith rather than manhoode they obtaine the victories that they get) dyd meruailously stand to their marke, in such sort, as y with very force (though late at night) they dyd win that part of the fort which vieweth y port of *Mussetto*, and immediatly there, with a meruelous expedicion they entrenched theselues with a new work, to the ende they might not bee endamaged by the Christians. For by the help of the *Turks* artillerie which were planted vpon the other side of *Marzamusetto* they were not a litle ayded to entrench, considering vpon that part, their Artillerie in such sort scoured, that our men durst not abide there, in that part of the fort, to resist, wherewith also the corner of a bulwarke & the curtaine of that part of the fort were likewise beaten in sunder. Whereof though the height and greatnesse was very troublesome to the enimie; yet was the same litle profitable to vs, because the sides thereof was not bending & crooking ynough that thereby both the same might the better haue ben defended, and the enimie more conueniently haue beene beaten on

on the flanke. But for as much as the night approched on, the *Turks* to the number of fife thousand remained ther still, for about nine thousand gaue the assault & the Christians were compelled to retire themselues out of the fort into the fortresse, & to leaue the fort to the *Turks* that wan the same. The *Turks* through the benefit of the darknesse of the night with pokes stuffed with okam and earth, filled that part of the dike, that was vnder the ramper, that the breadth and deepentse of the same, vpon the approach, might lesse annoy them. In this assault, aboue eight hundred *Turkes* were slaine, whereof part were *Ianizaries*, & part of the *Spachies*, besides not a few that were hurt, of whom a good part remained in the dikes, halfe dead & halfe aliue, for that part of the dike which was filled with them, did stop both them and vs from comming to help them, considering there was no passage to them, but onely that one which was in the front of the rampire, wherefore those that so remained hurt, of very force must needs perish, when none could come to helpe them. Of vs christians at the first encounter, were slaine about xlv, of the which were certaine knights of the order of the *Ioannits*, as *Gaurdamps* borne in *Auern* in fraunce, *Mafius* of the prouince of *Narbon* in france, *Contilia* a *Spaniard*, *Somatia* a *Florentine*, & *Ninecas* a *German*, & certaine wounded, as *Captaine Motta*, who afterward dyed in the fortresse, of his hurts. The great Maister thinking requisit, as reason was, that a supplie of soldiers should be sent to succour the fortresse, to the aide therof, immediatly he sent not onely ii C soldiours but also ii C gentlemen of his owne, that were knights of the *Ioannits*, who if they had ben moe, together with

*Spach*, qui seruent avec trois ou quatre cheuals chascun, et aut 200 ducats per An, et sont tous Azamoglan et esclaux dudit grand Turc.



the foure hundred that were in the castle, perhaps they might haue beaten the enimie both from the walles & the vtter forts also, & to haue defended the place longer time: But because the great Maister lacked souldiors, therefore he did send *Saluago* into *Sicilia* as before is declared, that he might obtaine but fise hundred souldiors for the time. And in the meane season hee would abide the mallice of the enimie and to eschew no labour or perrill: Albeit he thought that he had no litle occasion to lament the infortunie of christian Princes, that by their long stay, the apparant occasion to ouerthrow so cruell an enimie, should bee ouerslipt.

Howbeit hee dyd greatlie meruaile that hee heard of no manner of ayde out of *Sicilia*, nor of the two Gallies furnished with souldiors, which *Saluago* (as before) dyd send: but the Gallies thorough the fault of one of the Marriners kept not their appoynted course; For whereas they were commaunded to eschew the West part of *Melita*, and to keepe course towards the East, they dyd not so, but sayled onely towards the West vnto the *Island* of *Gozo*, which onely was thorough the default of the Marriner affirming that hee dyd see certaine Gallies of the *Turkes* riding in the port of *Miliare* for the defence of the same. Which (as it was after well knowen) was vtterly vntrew, whan in deede, the Marriner onely thorough feare (which oft times not a litle hindereth notable enterprises) durst procede no further. Whereby the great maister wanted his most necessarie ayde, which meruailously grieved as well the *Viceroy* and others, as chiefly *Saluago*, for they evidently dyd see, that if the *Turkes* dyd winne the fortresse of saint *Hermes*,  
being

being the chiefeest hold of *Melita*, the rest of the places there not onely should be brought in meruailous daunger, but also those of the *Island Melita* should bee vtterlie debarred from their entrise to haue succors. It was not impossible but that the fortresse might be easilie wonne and gotten, considering that the enimie had gotten one of the Bulwarks of the fortresse, and that the fortresse beeing but narrow of it selfe, was in manner on euerie part continually assailed, which beeing considered by those, that could skill in warres, dyd greatly moue them, chiefly when they perceiued that ayde so secretly came. The meane time by the commaundement of *Pope Pius* the fourth of that name, certaine souldiors were gathered to the ende that by his example, other Princes might the better bee encouraged to giue succors to the order of the *Ioannits*, and therefore hee commaunded that one hundreth pound of golde should bee giuen to *Cambiano*, Lieutenent of that order in Rome, and certaine furniture of poulder to bee deliuered to him out of the Castall of saint *Angelo* at Rome, that nothing should on his part seeme to want, that pofsible he could doe. For, vnto his holynesse souldiors, which were in number sixt hundereth, hee appoynted *Pompeio Colono* to bee Captaine, and *Camillo Medices* to bee Lieutenent. After this bande, followed manie voluntarie souldiors that both vowed themselues to serue in so holie a cause, and also to winne immortall fame, proceeding with such ardent and couragious mindes, that euerie litle stay, seemed to them to be an whole yeere.

Therefore they departing vnto *Naples*, found there *Ioan Andrew Auria*, with a leauen long shippes, and the  
S.iii. Prince

Prince of *Populonia* with nine, *Lancio Prouano* with three, and so many other that were rigged toorth at the charges of other priuate persons. Into these ships that came from *Rome*, all the bandes of footemen there, were shipt and carried ouer into *Sicilia*, to the Citie of *Messana*, where the kings naue was in riging.

While that the Christians, considered not that the perill was so great as it was in deede. The *Turks* not ignorant of the same, determined to proue the vttermost, beefore that the powers of the Christians should augment, thinking that if they could get the fortresse of *Saint Hermes*, the rest were easily to be had, first thereby they should be onely maisters of *Porto Musetto*, wherby they should gaine a safe and sure rodested for their naue, so long as they liked. Besides, to haue all that peece of land, betwixt the two ports, both for the beating of the fortresse of *Saint Michael*, and that no ship should enter, or goe forth out of the hauen of *Porto Maggiore*, without their leaue. These things and others, when the *Turks* had pondered, they beeganne to giue a terrible batterie to the fortresse of *Saint Hermes*, in such sort, as the great artillerie leased not to thunder by the space of foure daies continually. The next night after, the *Turks* sodainlie assalted the breach with ladders, and almost had gained the toppe of the curtaine, when as our Christians desiring nothing more then to come to hand strokes, couragiously gaue charge on them, that in the end the *Turks*, were in such sort repulled, that neuer after (vntill they wanne the fortresse) they durst rayse a ladder against the same.

While

While on this side these matters were in dooing, the souldiours of the *Turke Dorguta*, puffed vp with a certayne pride, as though they would seeme to exceede the rest, gathered themselues together at *Martia Scala*, beeing a little baie, beetwixt the place of execution and the rodested of *Saint Thomas*, whom whan the garrison of *Borgo* perceiued, they immediately issued, and so horte handeled them, that after the killing of a great number of them, the rest of those *Turks* were compelled to retire from whence they came.

In which conflict was slaine *Bonnemio* a gentleman of Fraunce a knight of the order of the *Ioannits*, with seauen others.

At that time, *Monferrato* was sent into the castle of *Saint Hermes*, to bee Captaine there in the place of *Brolio*, who beefore, there was Captaine, and thorough his intollerable watchinges and trauayles, about his charge, was fallen verie sicke. Which *Brolio* oft times beefore did write to the great Maister that the fortresse of *Saint Hermes*, was in such sort fortified and furnished, with euery thing thereunto appertaining, that hee thought that it was in manner impossible that the enimie should get it, for the knights of the *Ioannits* and others that there serued, tooke such encouragement by his worthy exhortacions, that comming to hand strokes they fought it forth aboue all mens expectation, nor the *Turks* though they had these repulses, left off so, but beegan a new batterie with their artill-rie by the space of certaine daies, and assalted most furiously the fortresse, with all the ingins that they could deuise.

Among

A Bridge  
of mallets.

Among which they had inuented a meruailous bridge framed vpon mallets, of such a breadth that tenne persons might easily fight on front thereupon, and of such a length, that it ouerreachd the dike and rested vpon the cortaine of the fortresse: Besides they placed foure thousand harquebusars alongst the dike, to beate the top of the Cortaines that none within should approch to the defence thereof, and than caused all their nauie to come neerer the shore of Saint *Georgis* port in landing their whole force.

And whan as by the space of eightene dayes they had battered this poore fortresse, and had cruelly rent the bulwarks and Cortains thereof with thirteene thousand shot, and in assured hope to haue wonne the fortresse. Beeholde one *Baragamo* a *Biscanian* borne, one of the order of the *Ioannits*, accompanied with Captaine *Medrano* a *Spaniard*, and sundrie other valiaunt seruitures repayred to this dreadfull Bridge, and to the great meruaile of all that dyd see them, there incountred the *Turkes*.

The fight on both sides was meruailous vehement, and in such sort the *Turkes* manfullie bechaue themselves that they had planted one of their Ensignes vpon a Bulwarke there, which when as Captaine *Medrano*, had worthilie bereft, and held in his hands, and departing therewith, both hee and *Baragamo*, with the shot of harquebuses were slaine. At that time those three hundred souldiors whereof I told you beefore, which were sent thether from the great Maister, shewed themselves, in dooing notable seruice: For so soone as they perceiued the fortresse to consist in that apparant daunger,

some

The death of  
*Medrano* and  
*Baragamo*.

some of them hurled wilde fire vpon the bridge, some burning pitch and brimstone, another sort of them tumbled mighty great stones vpon such as would haue entred, another part of them, kept the enimie occupied with continuall shot, that they durst not come nigher. So that after a dreadfull fight this new deuised bridge of the *Turks* was burnt in sunder, & with the ruine thereof perished eight hundred *Turks*, the remnant, so well as they could (whereof few escaped unhurt, and the most part very sore wounded,) retired to their shames, leauing behinde them whether they would or no, two of the chiefeest ensignes they had, the one pertaining to *Mustapha*, the other to *Dorgutes*, which our Christians to the great grieffe of the *Turkes*, fixed vpon the height of the Cortaine. During this cruell assault vpon the one side, the *Turkes* vpon the South West part of the fortresse, gaue another vehement charge, in such sort, as they had wonne the *Vauxmure* of the same, which when the garrison that remained in the Castle of *Saint Angelo* did perceiue, and thinking that with their artillery they were able to driue the *Turkes*, from the place which they had gotten, they vnbedded at the *Turkes*, a great peece of artillerie, and in steede of them, taking one for an other, seauen of our Christians, beeing on the Ramper of the fortresse, were pittifully slaine, which when they had perceiued, and to amend their former error, they caused another great peece to bee blowen off. with the stroke whereof, were torne in peeces foure of the *Turkes* most notable Captaines, and twelue other of their best and hardiest souldiers, that the *Turks* had. While thus furiously that the fight continued, the

The bridge of  
Mallets, burnt.

T.

*Turks*

## Of the warres

*Turkes* entrenched vpon that part of the fortresse of *Saint Hermes* which is towardes the Castle of *Saint Angelo*. But our men espying their dooing, with pots filled with wilde fire and burning pitch, hurled among them, caused the *Turkes* right soone to depart. The *Turkes* (thus beeing expelled by the valiant hardinesse of our Christians) returned carefully into their campe, leauing beehinde them dead in this terrible assault about two thousand of their souldiers, where two hundred of our men were slaine, & as many hurt. In the day of this assault the great Maister espying oportunitie caused a foist to bee prepared, and to bee had ouer a peece of a ground vnto *Martia Scala*, and one therein with certaine Marriners to passe into *Sicilia*, with letters to enforme the *Viceroy*, and the *Popes* holynesse also, of the manfull defence of the fortresse of *Saint Hermes*, and in what extreme danger, the same remained: except speedie aide and succour, were given to the same: the tenor of which letters written to the *Viceroy*, is as followeth, hauing of purpose thought conuenient not to set forth vnto you the contents of the *Popes* letters, when as the effect of both the letters being one, the rehearfall of the letters of the *Viceroy* may well inough suffice.

To Dom Garza de Toledo Viceroy of Sicill and  
High Admirall of the Kings Maie: most  
humble greeting.

Since *Salaga* departed hence, I haue sent vnto your Grace two leagal letters, which were conueied through

## and siege of Malta.

68

through the care of *Malta*, vnto the hands of *God*, which I would of god, that they had come to your hands. But after, perceiuing that neither messenger nor yet letters came from you, I commanded one of my men with certaine letters, to be put in redinesse to depart vnto you, vnto *Messina*, who after that hee had produced to get forth, sundry nights, and at last escaped, hee had not fully passed two miles on the sea, when hee was espyed by the *Turkes* Naue, that in all hast made towardes him, which when my messenger perceiued, with all the speede hee could, retired from whence hee departed, and so ranne his ship on land, and with the losse of his letters hurled into the sea, saued himselfe and his company from the handes of the *Turkes*.

Albeeu perceiuing now that the *Turkes* haue brought their Naue out of the Port of *Multurno*, and thinking with my selfe, how much it is requisit that your Grace should haue intelligence of matters heere already passed, I haue therefore caused a foist to bee set in readinesse at *Martia Scala*, while the *Turkes* were occupied vpon an other part of this Island, so as now I hope these my letters may shortly and with safetie come vnto your handes. But what I haue thought conuenient, your Grace should vnderstand, are these. The fifteenth day of this month, the whole Naue of the *Turks*, about night passed this port, and because the night was darke, wee could not perceiue the inconuenience of their naue, for we learned so much after that their gallies though they were left in manner vnarmed, they could not well bee towed from the place they had them.

T.ii.

and

and chiefly for lacke of water, they were enforced to departe from the port of *Vulturno*, and perhaps the feare of your Nauie, which they vnderstoode ( as I was enformed ) to be a hundred and fiftie ships riding at an ancre in the port of *Messana*, was likewise the cause that they would not ride in the port of *Saint Paule*, but planted their ships aboute *Porto Musetto*, and a good part of their gallies at *Saint Georges*, howbeit their ships & gallies are not so farre in funder, but if your Graces nauie should come at the sudden, in the feare that they are in, they would make speede, a pace to their nauie, if they were further off distant. At the port of *Vulturno*, appeareth not one *Turke*, as for their first encamping places at *Saint Katherines*, and *Saint Johns*, after the burning of the villages, they haue forsaken: and now the *Turks* haue their nauie riding, whereas I tolde you, and their army on land lieng before the fortresse of *Saint Hermes*, which as almightie God hath hetherto defended, so I hope, he will still conserue the same, and the more it is to bee hoped, in that ( as yesterday ) it so came to passe, that after a most furious assault continued by the *Turkes*, by the space of foure houres, with foure charges given, and valiantly sustained by our worthy souldiours, with the ouerthrow of a bridge, which the *Turkes* had planned ouer the dike of the fortresse, the *Turkes* had the repulse not without some losse of our Christians, where among others Captaine *Medrano*, ( to my great care ) was slaine: with this victory our christians are so encouraged, that I hope with Gods helpe, the fortresse ( vntill your Graces comming ) may bee defended, chiefelie, in that the enimie hath partly deminished the

seruent

seruent heat of their vsuall shot of their great artillerie, so as if I had now any aide or supplie of souldiers from your Grace, or mine owne two gallies that are with you, furnished with souldiours, I am in assured hope that the enimie should neuer get the fortresse from me, for the defence whereof, while I loke every houre for succour, both the souldiours and munitions, which I had, in maner are consumed, determining not the lesse, with that little number which is left, to continue in the defence thereof, though it should cost vs all our liues, vntill such time your Grace shall send aide, who ( as wee assuredly hope ) for the pietie and famous vertue in your Grace remayning, you would not forget vs in this distresse: but rather your Grace considering the great danger that we are in, ( which must needes be the ruine of vs all, if you defer any longer, ) you will help vs out of hand, with some supplie of souldiours, when so easilie you may now send them, for the *Turkes* are departed from the East part of this Iland, so as those which you will send may without any perill land at a place in this Iland called *Saxa Nigra*. In your Grace ( after Almightie God ) is situated our health or hope, therefore wee most hartely beseech your Grace, forsake vs not in our imminent dangers, for vnto your approued wisdom & pietie, we commit all that we haue, and so fare your Grace most hartely well. From *Malta* this seauenteene of *June*.

The *Viceroy* hauing receiued these letters, and considering the great daunger, of the besieged fortresse, was as it appertained wonderfully moued therewith, and shewed a meruailous desire to set forward the kings

T.iii.

whole

whole naue against the *Turks*, howbeit because the ships that should come vnto him from *Genes*, was at that time not arriued, it was thought expedient, that his Grace should not aduenture to fight with the *Turkes*, vntill their coming: therefore it pleased his Grace to send *Signore Giouanni Cardono*, with foure long shippes called *Galliazeis*, of the which two pertayned to the knights of *Malta*. Vnto *Cardono* the *Kieuey* ioyned a gentleman called *Robles*, with an ensigne of *Spaniards*, being chosen souldiours. There were shipped also, with these about foure score knights of the order of the *Ioannits*, that onely at *Messana*, tarried for passage into *Malta*, among these of the order of the *Ioannits*, were *Signore Parisoto* the nephew of the great master of *Malta*, *Vincentio Garassa*, *Boninsogna*, and *Maldonado*, both *Spaniards*, *Centio Aquitano* and others, who though through tempests and foule weather, they came not timely enough to the Island of *Malta*, as was desired, yet their coming was a meruaylous great helpe to the other Christians. Which new supplie if the same had come beefore the losse of the fortresse of *Saint Hermes*, perhaps therewith the fortresse might haue ben saved. These foure *Galliazeis* departed from *Messana* the sequenteenth of *June*. But the *Turks*, the meane time (not caring for their great losse of souldiers, no more then they had ben beafts gone to the slaughter house, determined desperately to renew their fight,) began their furious batterie againe, with the great artillerie, continuing the same, both day and night, vnto such time as such breaches were made, as conuenientlie were to assault, then the *Turkes* gaue so furious a charge with such a

multi-

multitude, and courage therewith, that vnlesse the most valiaunt vertues of the defenders, ioyned with contempt of death, and hope of immortall glory, had had the superioritie of the apparaunt terrour: truelie, the *Turkes* had either put our Christians to flight, or else to haue compelled them to yeeld willingly the fortresse. Right hot was the fight on each side, in such sort, that both parts seemed to bee so desprate in fight, the one to win the fortresse, & the other to defend the same, that it appeared that day would haue giuen end to those wars: five houres it was furiously fought, so that in the end the *Turks* through the worthinesse of our christians were repulsed, howbeit the *Turks* the night following rested not, but still beat at the fortresse with their great artillerie, that therewith the curtaines being so torne & rent, our christians had much a doe to stop the eninie from scaling, & bounde which our christians had meruailous prouidence in this terrible conflict, were slaine of the side of the christians two hundred, & of the *Turks* part, an innumerable sort, among whom the famous *Firat Dorguta*, while he executed no lesse the part of a prudent captaine, then also the function of a worthy souldior, through the stroke vpon his head with a great stone in this assault, was wounded to death, and so within two daies after died, and his dead body from whence honourable was transported to *Tripolis* in *Barbaria*. But with this worthie *Constancie*, and valiaunt acts of our Christians, the Capitaines of the *Turkes* (being made more furious and raging, then beefore they were) collected all their Naue into one place, and commaunded that the fortresse on euery side, both by land & sea, should be assailed and

The famous  
pirat Dorguta  
wounded to  
death.

and that ever fresh souldiers should continually be sent, vntill the fortresse were wonne by assault. Therefore the *Turks* immediatlie caused, both bridges, ladders, ingins, weapon & other necessities meet for the assault, to be with all diligence put in readines which when *Monsieur Valet* being then in the castle of *Saint Angelo* perceiued, fearing ( as reason was ) that the fortresse was not able to abide & beare the furious charge that was in preparing against the same, therefore about two daies before this last assault, hee called together the counsaile of the order of the *Ioannits*, shewing them, that they all did perceiue, so well as hee, in what meruailous daunger, those rested, that were defenders of the fortresse, nor he doubted but that euery of them, for the pietie, & Godly harts in them remaining, had no little compassion of the perill of the rest of their bretheren, and other worthie souldiours, there yet remaining, no lesse then if the cales of the defenders were their owne, and therefore required, to shew their best aduise, what were requisite for the safegard of such valiant persons. The matter being thoroughly considered, the counsell gaue immediate resolution, that forsomuch as the fortresse no longer could bee kept, that the liues of the defenders should be saued, and that for the bringing awaie of the defenders, twelue foists should be sent. For which cause there was elected, three knights of the order, that they in the night following should passe ouer to the fortresse and not onely to declare to the defenders, the determination of the great Maister and counsell, but also to suruey, in what state euery thing in the fortresse were, after so many cruell assaults suffered, and that, if there

The counsell  
of the Ioannits

The sentence  
of the coun-  
sell.

were

were cause, to forsake the fortresse, then the waters ther to be poisoned, and the whole artillerie, to be cloied vp with nailes. For executing of which embassade forth with departed *Medina a spaniard*, *Rocca a frenchman*, & *Constantino Castriota an Italian*, not without meruailous daunger of their persons, considering the *Turks* espying the, charged at them sundry shot of the harquebuzze, & after their ariuall in the fortresse, they expressed to the defenders, the pleasure & determinaciō of the great maister & counsell of the order. The defenders vnderstanding, the great care & thought, that the great Maister & counsell had for their safetie, most humbly gaue thanks to them all, for the same. Then so much as concerned the estate of the fortres, if the straitnes therof, the small number of the defenders, & the great number of the enimie, should be considered, truely the fortresse were in meruailous daunger, chiefly in that the enimie was purposed to giue of new another desperate assalt, howbeit insomuch as hetherto, they had tasted of the mercifull aide of almighty God, that vnto that time had defended them, from the rabious furie of so terrible an enimie, in that the place as they thought was defensible, with munition inough, there yet remaining, and that chiefly they had required of the great Maister the honour of the charge in defending of the pcece or place if they knew all to loose their liues, they intended to defend the fortresse, to the death, perhaps such occasion of most honourable defence, neuer would come to them againe, therefore they were vtterly determined to spend their liues, for the glory of almighty God, and his holie religion.

The answer  
of the worthie  
defenders.

V.

The



“ The race and cource of this brittle life is but short, but the glory of eternall life, is perpetuall. And considering that to each one there is an appointed death, it is to be desired of euery good man, that this life of ours beeing subiect to casualties, might rather be employed about the seruice of Almighty God, and his common wealth, than to be reserved to the extremitie of olde age. And if their chāce should be that there were none other way but to dye, they hoped to leaue such victory to the enemye, that the ioy and pleasure, which they would gaine thereby, should cost them the best blood that remained in the worthiest Soldiours that the *Turks* than had. And therefore they required the messengers to shew to the great Maister, what they had vowed, and to continue his good opinion in them, as pertained to haue, in worthie Seruitures: & chiefly of such as had giuen themselves to that order of Knighthood.

The three Messengers hauing thus receaued the defenders answer, containing greater courage than good hap, returned to the great Maister, who calling again the Counsaile together, & hearing the valiant answer of the defendours, was likewise desirous to heare the opinions of the messengers, *Castriota* was of opinion, that inso much as the defendours were yet Maisters of the dikes, the fortres might be kept, & that he *Castriota*, (if he were commāded) would take the defence of the Fortres in charge, and that rather he would lose his life, than to forsake the place. But *Rocca* the French man was of contrary minde, saying, that he verely beleued, the Fortres was not able to be kept, if *Iulius Caesar* were on liue, & had the defence therof, & saw to what extremities, the place was brought

vnto,

vnto, & that euery Bulwark ther for the most part, rent in sunder by the enemies artillery, & hurled downe, & compassed with such number of desperate enemies; he would neuer suffer, that the liues of so many worthie soldiours should, through inconsidered pertinacitie, haue end, but rather to forsake the place, and to reserve the liues of so many valiant Seruitures for other places of greater importance. It is a valiant & worthie mans part, to doe that which a man may doe, and not to stretch beyond that, which a man cannot doe. And, that to be done, which as he thought, was vsed to be considered in diseased members incurable in mans body: that for the safegard of the life & the rest of the whole bodie, it was meet the incurable member to be cut away, and not to care of the losse therof.

The Spaniard agreeing in opinion with *Castriota*, thought conuenient, that the place should not be forsaken; for that the dikes and Rampers of the Fortres for the most part were yet not beaten in sunder, and that a meruailous vnitie of mynde was resident in the defendours, ioyned with a liuely courage and desire to come to hand strokes with the enemye, which in manner promised an assured victorie to the defendours.

The severall opinions of these three Messengers being thoroughly considered, it was thought good, by the most part of the Counsaile, that the defenders should continue in their charge for certaine dayes: For that it was neuer the vsage of that order, to forsake with ease such places, as once were committed to their gard: but rather to continue in defence of the same to the death;

V.ij.

to

to thend that the barbarous enimie might vnderstand, with what kinde of men he had to doe, to the repressing of his temerarious arrogance and pride: Least, in forsaking the place, the enimie would perhaps think it were done through feare. Whereby the courage of the enimie would encrease, and the auncient honour and estimation of this sacred order would abate.

The last assault  
giuen by the  
Turks to the  
castle of Saint  
Hermes.

The *Turks* this while, minding to put in effect, which they before determined, the three and twentieth of *June*, with their whole Armies both by land and sea, about mydnight, assailed cruelly the Fortres on all sides, erecting their ladders, bridges, and other Ingins meet for that purpose. First vnending at once two and thirtie great Cannons, that with the furious strokes thereof, that which remained vp of the fortifications, were vterly throwen downe. The Christians on thother side manfully stode to theyr defence, some they ouerthrew into the dikes, some they repulsed, & some they slew, but a great deale being more couragious, to vvound & annoy the enimie than to looke to their owne safetie: insomuch vvhere the greatest concourse and thrust of the enimie vvvas, there vvvere the Christians euer ready to shew theyr force and prowesse. The noyse of each side vvvas great, mixed with vehement exortations, ioies and mournings: the face & countenance of the fight vvvas variable, ambiguous, incertain, horrible, and pitifull to behold. Thus it vvvas foughten vnto three of the clock, vvhan yet vvvas doubted to vvhat part the victorie vvould encline. And except the *Turks* had begun againe furiously to vnbend continually their great Artillerie, (vvwhereby they ouerthrew all the Courtains and

and Bulwarks vnto the hard Rock vvhereon the Christians stode:) the Christians might vvell ynough haue sustained for a few daies more, the furie of the enimie, but the Rock thus made naked both of the defendours and vvalls, and more than foure hundred of the garrison slaine, rested nothing vp, scarce that could hide the head of the Souldiour: So as none, could once mount or shew himselfe, to stand to the defence, but immediately he vvvas torne in peeces vvith the shot of the Canon, that neuer sealed. And now *Monserrato* the Generall of the Fortres, together vvith one *Garas*, ruler of *Eubæa*, vvith one bullet vvvere miserably slaine together, gentlemen of like vertue, pietie, and vvorthinesse, vvho for this short lyfe, and most honorable behauiour in the same, haue now together gained eternall glorie. Neuerthelesse, the other, that remained on liue, and that stode manfully to their charge, nothing discouraged vvith the losse and slaughter of their companions, but rather as such as seemed to haue receaued new force and strength out of Heauen, they encountred the enimie most couragiously, in tearing and rending the Ensignes, vvwhich the *Turks* had fastened vpon the Fortres, and killing the Ensignebearers, Captaines and others, of the chieftest of the enimie. So that the Christians looked for none other thing than to giue vp theyr lyues, for the Religion of Christ, to obtaine eternall lyfe.

Now the Sunne in his race, had ascended the midst of the Heauens, vvwhereby vvvas such raging heate, vvwearinesse, and continuall thundering of Artillerie; againe the multitude of the enimie so great, that still sent

fresh men to renew the assault. On the other part, the little number of our Christians left on liue, weakened with meruailous labour, watching, drought, & wounds. The *Turkes* at last gayned by force the fortresse of Saint *Hermes*, but with such an incredible losse of their souldiours that it was wonderfull that so great a multitude of the *Turkes*, could bee slaine by so little a number of the Christians: thus our Christians valiauntlie fighting were euery one slaine.

Heere I cannot let passe, to touch the vnnmercifull crueltie of these *Turkes*, exercised against the knights of the order of the *Ioannits*, whereby one may vnderstand, of what nature & propertie Crueltie is of, which euer sheweth, what will it hath still to reuenge, when the death of the person cannot suffice. For after the winning of the fortres, the *Turkes* finding there, certaine knights of the order, betwixt death and life, caused most cruelly their harts to be cut out of their breasts, & their bodies inuested with their scarlet cassocks, & white crosses (for that the knights of the order of the *Ioannits*, in warers doe euer weare scarlet, & in peace black) to bee hanged vp by the feet to the number of a thirtie of them, in the sight of the Castles of Saint *Angelo*, & Saint *Michael*, but when this healtly crueltie seemed not to be inough to *Mustapha*, he also caused these dead bodies to bee tyed together, and to bee hurled into the sea, howbeit the sea being moued as it were with greater mercie, then was in the *Turks*, the next day after did cast the dead bodies floating into *Porto Maiori*, where the great Maister knowing who they were commanded that the corpes should be taken vp, and buried honorably, with no little lamentation made for them.

In

In such sort that the great Maister straightlie commanded that from thenceforth no *Turkes* should be taken, but immediatlie to be slaine, whereby such as already were taken, by and by were put to death, and their heads thrown ouer the walles. From the beginning of the siege, vnto the winning of the fortresse of Saint *Hermes*, there were slaine of that garrison, the number of a thousand three hundred persons of the which there were a hundred & thirtie knights of the order of the *Ioannits*. The great Maister *Valet*, hauing thus lost the fortresse of Saint *Hermes*, though he had (as reason was) a carefull hart, yet in dissembling the same, hee shewed outwardlie a good countenance, to the end, that hee should not discourage the rest of his souldiours. Saying that nothing hath chanced but that almightie God hath prouided the same, for such is the fortune of wars, and the will of God, that sometime one, and sometime another, may suffer ouerthrow. It is onely cowardnesse and not the worthie vertue, and immortall courage of these valiaunt seruitors, beeing dead, that should cause vs to make care and mourning, nor, for all this the enimie ought so much to bee dreaded, considering his losse in deed, that rather it seemeth hee should accompt himselfe to haue receiued the ouerthrow then to bee named victorious. And as to such of our christians as are dead in this worthie seruice, let vs firmly beleue, that they are recompenced with glory & immortallitie in the kingdome of heauen, which ought to enflame the harts of euery good man, to serue as they haue done, & as for himselfe, hee had not yet laied aside his hope of assured victorie to bee gotten of the rest of the enemies,

rather

rather by the help of almightie God, then by his owne power, and that hee supposed, all there being present, to be of like minde, and so to be and continue, hee required them. These words being spoken, the great Maister being readie against all extremities of *Fortune*, departed from the rest, and after much deuiling with himselfe alone, he determined with himselfe in the end to write to *Petro Mesquito* generall of the citie of *Malta*, and to aduertise him, and the bretheren of the *Ioannits* at *Messana*, together with the *Viceroy*, of the losse of the fortresse of *Saint Hermes*. The copie of whose letters I haue thought expedient to discribe to you, to the end that the meruailous prouidence of *Valet* the prince of this order of the *Ioannits*, may the more appeare vnto you, which is as followeth.

The letter of  
the great Maister to Mesquito.

**D**Vring such time as the knights of the order, abiding at *Messana*, are preparing their passage hether, the miserable ouerthrow and taking of the fortresse of *Saint Hermes* hath chanced, which as you ought to know, hath left vnto mee no little care, so I assuredly thinke, the same hath fortun'd, not without the secret permission of almightie God, which I take in such good part, that rather the father of Heauen, will correct vs by this losse, then vtterly to suffer vs to perish. And albeit in mine opinion, it is not requisit, to doubt any wise of his mercifull goodnesse and mightie power. Yet I cannot but complaine that it hath seem'd, I haue beene forsaken of those, that should not haue becomm'd them so to haue done, that in the space of seauen and thirtie daies, wherein our most worthie Christians now dead, susteyned such

furious

furious charges of the enimie, (as rather a meruailous matter done by God, then man,) of our owne (who of duetie ought to haue regarded vs) wee haue beene succoured with no manner of aide, which sundry times in this space, they might haue done, howbeit as I perceiue, we must hope no longer of mans help, considering that neither our letters, diligence, earnest requests, admonitions, or commandements, can in any wise take place with them, whom duty rather ought to haue moued to obedience, then negligence to haue staied them all this while. Lacke of time will not permit me, to write as I would to the *Viceroy*, but rather your part shalbe, to giue intelligence as well to his grate, as to others our bretheren there of the occurrants of this Island. Which our bretheren, if they had obeyed our commandements as they appertained, or else had sent vs any aide at all, perhaps we had not lost the fortresse of *Saint Hermes*, about the defence wherof, so valiant & worthy seruitures as euer liued, haue lost their liues therein. Wherefore except the *Viceroy* make hast to deliuer vs, I feare hee shall come to late to doe vs good, chiefly if we be besieged, before we haue the litle succours, which as I dreame, are in coming to vs, & as I feare scarce will come in time. Neuerthelesse we doe not mistrust of the loue & prouidence of almighty God towards vs, but that the diuine vertue of the *Viceroy*, within few houres, to be moued & stirred vp by the holy ghost, will with speede deliuer vs. The meane time, the enemies hath gotten together all their nauie into the port of *Musetto*, & are very dilligent in putting of the places of the fortresse, & reedifieng of the rampers & bulwarks which with the strokes of their

X.

artillerie

artillerie they did cast downe. Therefore vpon the sight heereof, I require you to send to vs, the capitaines *Catharinensis*, *Belcarensis*, *Belmestio*, and *Zoric*, with their bands, that in our necessities, we may vse their faithfull and valiaunt endeauours. So requiring of God to send vs aide from some place, fare you hartely well. From the castle of *Saint Angelo* the foure and twentieth day of *Iune*.

**M***Esquita* the generall of the Citie of *Malta*, after that hee had read the letters of the great Maister immediatly caused a foist to be rigged to the sea, & in the same sent one *Masio Gordonella*, to whom hee gaue both the great Maisters letters to him sent, and also other letters of his owne of like effect directed to the knights of the order of the *Ioannits* remayning at *Messina*, requiring *Masio* with all the hast hee could, to passe into *Sicilia*. The meane time, *Mustapha Bassa* sent a messenger to *Mounfier Valet*, and with him an old *Spaniard*, a prisoner to the which prisoner *Mustapha* promised libertie vpon condition that he would goe to *Borgo* with his messenger, commanding them both that they should practise with *Mounfier Valet* to yeeld himselfe, and the whole Island vpon any reasonable appointment. Who after they had ariued at the towne, the *Turk* remained without, & the christian entred in & was brought to the prince, to whom he disclosed the charge & commandement to him giuen by *Mustapha*. When *Mounfier Valet* heard the *Spaniard* once name appointment & yelding, he began to enter into such a choler, that if he had not beene a christian man, he had commanded him immediatly to haue ben hanged, therefore he gaue the *Spaniard* choise, whether he would tarry

still

still among the Christians in *Borgo*, or else immediatly to depart, & to tell to the *Turke* that came with him, except he did get him away in hast, he would cause the artillerie of the castle to constraime him to speed him away. The *Turke* with this answer returned to the campe, where with *Mustapha* fell in such a rage, that hee openly sayde that from thenceforth hee would vse all the crueltie that hee could against the Christians. At this time with *Mustapha* was a gentleman named *Philip*, discended of the noble familie of the *Lascars* in *Greece*, who at such time as hee was a childe, was taken by the Christians, when as they wonne the towne of *Patras* in *Achaia*.

Philip a Turke  
a noble man  
reuolted and  
came to the  
Christians.

During which time, that hee was a prisoner, hee was so curteously vsed by them, that euer after hee bare meruailous affection and good will, towards Christians. This *Philip* beeing priuie to sundry counsailes of *Mustapha*, (moued as it seemed by deuine inspiration from Heauen) thought that hee might meruailousslie aide and profit the Christians, if hee should come to them, and therefore determined with himselfe to passe to the fortres of *Saint Michael*.

Which as hee prooued many times to doe, so in the ende in the Calends of *Iuly*, hee did cast himselfe into the sea (considering hee could not get to the castle by land) and so did swimme to the castle, not without great daunger of his life, for he being espied by the *Turkes* he was shot at, with sundry arrowes and arquebuses. Vpon his landing, he was immediatly brought to the great Maister, to whom not onely he discovered sundrie counsells of the enimie, but also shewed, what ought to bee done at a corner of the forresse of *Saint Michael*,

X.ii.

to

to the end to make frustrate certain deuises of the enemies, which they purposed to practise against that place, and of sundry other things which afterward turned to much commoditie of the christians. Who also, as oportunitie serued, right valiantly, after, fought against the *Turks*: So as, that after the siege, and *Malta* being deliuered, he repaired to *Rome*, with meruailous commendacion of the great Maister, where the Popes holinesse courteously entertained him, and for his vertue and good seruice done aswell towards those of *Malta*, as towards vvhole Christendome, he rewarded him vvith sundry guifts. Where likewise, he dyd forsake his *Turkish* faith, vvherein he vvas brought vp, vtterly detesting the same, and from *Rome* he repaired to King *Philip*, to vvwhose Maiestie he discouered likewise certaine pretences of *Soliman* the Emperour of the *Turks*.

While these things (as aboue) vvere done, *Colonello* (of vvhome before, as I shewed you, that vvas sent into *Sicilia*) ariued safe at *Messana*, vvher he found the Christian Nauie not as yet readie, so that the afflicted affaires of *Malta* could not out of hand be succoured. For neither the ships that should come out of *Spaine* vvere than come, nor yet *Gouianmi Andrea Auria*, vvith his eight & twentie Galliaceis, vvho staid to enbarque foure thousand footemen, vnder the leading of *Capino Vitellio*, that vvere collected in *Etruria*.

The knights of the order at *Messana* considering this tedious tarieng, and vvhat perill vvould ensue vppon longer staie, fully determined vvith Gods helpe, to succour their bretheren of the order in *Malta*.

And vvith such power as they had gotten together,  
vnder

vnder the leading of two notable gentlemen, knights of the *Ioannits*, the one of the house of *Messana*, & the other of *Buroleto*; they purposed to passe into *Malta*. Albeit before their departure, they repaired to the *Viceroy*: & in consulting vvith him, they required his Grace, to call to memory vvhat seruice the knights of the *Ioannits* had done, not onely for the King of *Hispan*, but for all Christendome; and vvhat charges the *Ioannits* vvere at the other yeere, at the vvinning of *Pinon de Beles*, vvhere they neither spared victual, artillerie, or ships, nor yet theyr owne proper liues; vvhere theyr seruice might either profit the Kings highnesse, or any part of the Christian common vvealth. And besides this, that he vvould vouchsafe to consider vvith himselfe, that the losse of the Iland *Malta*, not onely should touch the *Ioannits*, but vniuersall *Italy*, and chiefly the Iland of *Sicilia*; by reason it should be a neighbour to so mightie an enimie as the *Turk*.

For vvich causes and others, that shortnesse of time prohibiteth to report, they required of him foure thousand footemen, vvith vvhome all the knights there, of the order of the *Ioannits*, accompanied also vvith sundry noble personages and other voluntary soldiours, vvould passe ouer into *Malta*, to succour their bretheren there: vvith vvich supply they sayd they assuredly hoped, if at the least, they could not repulse the enimie or vwinne againe the lost Fortres, yet to stay the further proceedings and pretences of the furious enimie, vnto such tyme as the vvhole Christian Nauie being in a readinesse might inuade the *Turkish* Fleece, and also (as they trusted) vtterly to destroy the same.

Vpon these words, vvhile the *Vice Roy*, deliberated with himselfe vvhath he should doe, there came a messenger out of *Hispain*, but vvhath the effect of his letters vvas, vvhich he brought, though some iudged one vway and some an other, none certainly could tell: but so it came to passe, that through his comming, the *Vice Roy* gaue a brieue answer to the *Ioannits*, saying, that he could not satisfie their request, considering the same vvere an vtter vveakening & diminishing of the force of the kings nauie. vvhetherby it should come to passe in so doing as they requested; that he could not giue them such succors, as shortly he pretended to doe. Howbeit if they vwould transport all the *Ioannits* that were at *Messana* (vwith a part of the souldiours vvhich the Popes holinesse sent) into *Malta*, in those two Galleaceis vvhich they had prepared; hee himselfe vwould furnish an other Galliace to bee sent vwith them.

The knights hauing receaued this determined answer, vvhath as they otherwise could not amend themselues, they tooke the offer of the *Vice Roy*. While these ships vvere making readie to depart, the foure ships vvhether of before I made mencion, vvhich transported the 600 Souldiours, & foure score knights of the *Ioannits*, by the space of twentie dayes vvere on the Seas, tossed vwith meruailous tempests, & other stops and staies, that they could not attaine to *Malta*. And chiefly they had commandement giuen them, they should not land, except they knew certainly that the Fortres of *Saint Hermes*, vvere still in possession of the christians. But approaching to *Malta*, they sent their spiall on land, & promised him, to tarry on the Sea, vnto the next day for his retorne.

The

The meane tyme the Seas by tempestious vweather began so to grow, that the Spiall could not retourne at his appointed tyme. Wherefore the shippes that dyd abide him, dreaded that either he was perished in the tempest, or else come into the enimies hands. Whereby, they sayled back to *Pozalo*, a place on the coast of *Sicilia*, to the ende to learne somewhat there, of the state of *Malta*. Where, vpon their arriuall they certainly dyd know, that the Fortres of *Saint Hermes* was yet vngotten by the *Turks*. Which vvhath they had learned, they departed to the seas againe.

But comming within fixe miles of *Malta*, wher at their place determined, they were apointed to land, they spied a fier from land, as a signe made vnto them, wherby they iudged, both that their former Espiall was taken by the enimie, & that some Ambush was there layed for them. Wherevpon they retourned to *Pozalo* againe, at which place, they learned of one of the Knights of the *Ioannits*, a French man, that came out of *Malta*, of purpose to them, that the forenamed fire by his commandement was made, that they being instructed by that signe, might safely proceede to their landing place in *Malta*. Vpon the vnderstanding whereof, they all with speede dyd get them to the Seas againe, and sailed to *Malta*, where at a place called *Saxa Nigra*, (which is situated in that part of *Malta*, which is towards *Lybia*,) they landed in a quiet night, the nine and thirtith of *June*, & so being not scene of any others, marched without impediment, to the Citie of *Malta*, where, with incredible Ioy they were receaued, and there tarried vnto the tyme they knew the further pleasure of the Great Maister.

The



The meane time there grew about *Borgo*, and the other places thereabouts such a mist, being not oft times seene there, that none in maner could see therabouts, when as a boy scarce of the age of twelue yeeres, looking out at a window of the castle, and all atraied, cried immediatly, that he saw the *Turkes* marching towards the castle of *Saint Michael*, which being perceiued, and certaine of the knights making towards that part, in their way, they gate a certaine *Grecian* borrie that dwelt at the cite of *Malta*, who being brought backe to *Borgo*, and straitly examined of the cause of his departure from thence, considering he had no passport, without which, it was lawfull for none, to stray abroad, in the end this *Grecian* confessed, that he was purposed to haue fled to the campe of the enimie, and to haue giued him intelligence of the arrivall of this new supplie, to the end that the *Turks*, might in the marching of this supplie towards the great maister, surprise them by some ambuiss. Whereupon the *Iohnnits* considering, that by some occasion hereafter, this fugitive, might worke to them no little detriment, they caused him to bee cut in foure peeces. Three daies after, this new supplie of souldiours that came out of *Sicilia*, about night fallie came to the great maister, sauing two or three lacques, that were charged with certaine armour and other fardels, who came into the hands of the enimie. It is in maner, incredible what courage was augmented in the hartes of the besieged Christians, through the coming of this new supplie, and chiefly *Valet*, the great maister, seeing beefore his eies, assembled, the flower of the *Iohnnits*, and other most worthie seruitors sent to him by the prouidence

of

of Almighty God, saied (vvith teares in his eies for Ioy) I thank thee humbly, most mightie God and heauenly King, that of thy mercifull goodnesse doest heare my prayers, and doest not forsake this pitifull flock of thine; traauailing vnder my charge, being compassed (as thou assuredly knowest) vvith these most raging and furious vvolfes; What shall I say more? but these are the works of thine onely parperuall goodnesse, apparant omnipotencie, and inscrutable vvisedome.

This new supply, that vvas come to the great Maister, vvcre earnest sutors, that it vvould vouchsafe the great Maister to graunt them that benefitt, that they might serue in the Fortres of *Saint Michael*, the great Maister praising their valiant courage, did condescend to theyr request, vvithout changing at all, there, the ancient garrison. The next day following, such of the garrison of *Saint Michaels*, as had desire to come to hand strokes vvith the enimie, issued forth, & meeting vvith the enimy at *Saint Margarets*, so vvorthely behaued themselves that they killed about 200 of the *Turks*, & hurt as many of them, that none of the garrison returned home to the Fortres, vvithout blood drawen of the enimie, yea and vvithout losse of any of their company, at that time. Which vvhe *Mustapha* parceued, he knew right wel that it vvas the new supply come to the Fortres of *Saint Michael*, therefore he found meruailous fault vvith those that had the charge by sea; that by their negligence, this supply gate landing & entrie: So as they, to vvhole charge the vtter parts of the Iland vvcre committed, came in vvonderfull suspicion of *Mustapha*. Whose suspicion also vvas augmented through the departure of three

Y.j.

Gal.

Gallies of *Argire*, that stole away, vvhherby he had small credit to the rest of the *Argirians* there, and much lesse confidence to the *Renegants* that vvere Christians, and there seruing the *Turke*. Wherefore hee ordayned that none of those persons should tarry on land out of their shippes vpon paine to be thrust through on stakes, and to bee burnt to ashes, and so in chaunging that watch, hee appointed the gallyes, of *Salach* the *Turke*, to take the custody of the Iland, that no supply should enter. And to the end that neither of his owne, nor any Christian should surpise theyr Nauy, he caused sundry of his owne shippes to be set a longt the breadth of the port of *Musetto*, and the one to bee chayned to the other. And forsomuch as that the bloody fixe and other diseases had inuaded his campe, he ordained for the sick three kindes of places, one for the wounded, at the water of *Marza*, vnder the gard of 2000. *Turks*, another on shipborde, for the voluntary souldiours, & the third vpon scaffolds deuised betwixt ship and ship for the *Renegants*. At which time *Mustapha* made *Ochial* the *Turk*, generall ouer *Tripolis* in *Barbaria*, who passing thether with five *Galliaceis* to take possession of his charge, & after setting euery thing in order ther, he returned to the campe in *Malta*. And for the better furniture of bread for the campe, the *Bassa* caused two ships frayghted with wheat to be transported to the towne of *Leptis*, and there to be made and baked beecaue the campe of the *Turkes* had much neede of bread. Likewise *Mustapha* sent to *Solyman* the Emperour *Zaloth* the *Turke*, to shew him how he had wonne by assault, the fortres of *Saint Hermes*, and bare with him the plat of the Iland, as he found it at his entry there,

there, & to declare to him that he found those of *Malta* better prepared, & more strong, then he hoped in the beginning, to haue found them. And that it his pleasure wer, that he should continue the wars ther in that Iland it were not a little requisit, to aide him with a great supply of men, victuall, and more furniture of munitions. Which if he send, he trusted to win the remnant of the fortresses of *Malta*, though not so sone, as perhaps would be looked for. And in the meane time while he receiued aunswere hee would foreflow and protract no time, to proue by assalt & otherwise, to gaine the fortresses if he could. And becaue, he should seeme, not to haue written vaine matters to his Prince, *Mustapha* had beegun his battery with seauentie great peeces of arillery, (among which, were three mighty *Basilisfoes*,) in foureteen seuerall places, insomuch as from the *Promontory* of the place of execution vnto the water of *Marza*, and from thence vnto the fortres of *Saint Hermes*, where they had placed 300 *Linzaries* in garryson, they entrenched and fortified all that compasse of earth right warlike, with meruaylous strength. With which cruell battery, continuing day and night, they tormented the townes of *Borgo* and *Saint Michael*, that the walles, bulwarkes and houses were there wonderfully endamaged, so as none knew well whereto bee safe, whereby at the first, both women and children were meruaylously annoyed. And the *Turkes* themselues were driven to keepe within their fortified campe, nor durst issue abroad without great multitude, and for all that they escaped not home againe to their campe all free, for the horsemen of the Garrison of the Citie of

*Melita*, now & than scouring the countrie, would charge them on the back and kill many of them.

Whan the newes of the losse of the Fortres of *Saint Hermes* came to *Rome*; the Citie was replenished with meruailous care and feare for the tydings: insomuch, as some there, mourned to see that auncient glorie of the *Latin Name* was in such sort diminished. An other sort, was in no little dread that the calamitie of *Malta* would redownd to *Rome*.

There were also an entious and detracting kinde of men more liberall with carping tongues, than expert in knowledge of warres, that layed the vvhole blame of the losse of the Fortres vpon *Mounsier Valet* the great Maister: vvhome, both his Inuincible courage, and no lesse the valiant and noble personages there accompanyeng him, than also this Historie making mencion of all theyr most vvorthie Actes, vvould parpetually deliuer him from such infamy and sclaunder. But such, as care not for theyr owne estimation, by lykelihood would not spare to defame the Renome of an other. For as Ignorance cannot Iudge well of the Pollicies and Inuencions of the learned sort. No more can Coward Varlets rightly discerne of the vvorthie Acts and valiant doeings of Couragious olde and practized Soldiours. But to retourne to the matter of our History, before we told you how three Galiacies were in preparing, at *Messana*, and what diligence they vsed about the same that had the charge thereof; in such sort as the seuenth of Iuly, they departed out of the Port of *Messana*. There were in those three ships becsides the Knights of the *Ioannites*, sixe hundred

*Spaniards*

*Spaniards*, and three hundreth of the Popes Soldiours, vnder the charge of *Pompeio Colona*, among vvhom, wer some that voluntary rowed, & some that vver constrained. To the constrained, libertie was promised if they vvould doe their endeouours, to bring the into the port of *Borgo*, they should, after, be aduanced to roomes of Soldiours as the others vvore. So as not onely their purpose was to succour those that wer besegged, with men, but also vvith victuall. For vvich cause, they shipped 250 *Medimni* of Wheat, besids Gun powder, Sall-peter, and Leade, meete for Artillerie and like vses.

And albeit they supposed it very difficult, to enter the Port, being so strongly garded by the *Turk*: neuertheless such desire rested in the mindes in the *Ioannites* present in those Shippes, that they made accompt the entrie might easely be brought to passe, both to them and thother.

Whan they approached nigh vnto *Malta*, these shippes made soorth a Fragot to see if any signe from the Castle of *Saint Angelo* could be espied, vvherby they might vnderstand, vvwhether the ships might proceed to enter or retire. Whan the Fragot vpon his proceeding, perceiuing a signe that he should retourne back, retourned to the shippes shewing the signe of retyring: though the *Turks* vvhan they provided the signe dyd vvhat they could to obscure the signe by shotte of great Artyllarye at the same, vvwhereby they replenished the Skyes vvith meruailous obscurities, as though the same had bene thorough darke Cloudes; vvwhich the shippes vnderstoode vvell enough: and so retourned backe into *Sicilia*.

Y iii.

In

In deede, it was not thought meet by *Valet* that most curteous prince, that so many worthy knights of the order, and so many noble personages and valiaunt fouldiours, beeing together in those ships, should bee brought in manifest danger, for hee did see apparantly how that certaine of *Turks* ships, lay by night, at the incomming of *Porto Musetto*, at a place called *Arenulato* to enbar all entrie and issue, to and fro *Porto Maggiore*, without their leaue. At which time, when as the garrison of the citie of *Malta*, had intelligence what good successe the new supplie had vpon their issue made (as before) against the *Turks*, they taking courage thereby, made likewise a salie vpon the enimie, that spoiled abroad in the land, as they wer driving certain cattell, which they had taken, & in such sort they of the citie valiantly behaved themselues, that after sundry of the *Turks*, by them slaine, not onely they recovered the cattell, but draue the rest of the *Turks* to their shippes. The campe of the *Turks* understanding the chase to come towards them immediately stroke a larme, and repairing to the pavilion of their generall *Mustapha*, leasid for that time, the battery. Which matter, caused the *Prince Valet* to suppose, that the *Turks* was marching to giue assalt at the breach, and therefore the prince fully determined with himselfe to be ther present at the defence of the breach, thinking thereby that his preience should not a little encrease the courage and hardinesse of the garrison of *Saint Michaels*. For which purpose, immediatly he caused a bridge vpon boates to passe both the halfe Ilands to *Saint Michaels* to bee made. But knowing what the larme ment, he returned to the castle of *Saint Angelo*.

There

There were some that indged this dooing of the *Prince* to bee meruaylous bolde & couragious, but not voyd of great daunger occupyeng such a place & function, as he dyd, and therefore was worthie to be blamed for the same: Alleadging, that matters of great waight & importance, ought rather to be put in effect by the force of the mynde, counsaile, & direct order, giuen by the Generall, than by any force of body by him to be shewed. Vnto which affaires, though the Generall be absent, yet by his prudent orders established, he may be present among his soldiours. For the decay of the General (which if he come to handstrokes may easely happen the ruin of the rest wherof he had charge, may likewise ensue: as we dayly see, whan the lyfe is gone, the body is dead. Other again affirmed that the prince *Valet*, was worthy of much commendacion, Iudging that the presence of the General was most necessary in perils, considering that the Soule cannot rightly gouerne & direct the bodie, except it be present, yea, in the body: For in such doeing hath but followed the examples of y most prudent Generals *Alexander*, *Themistocles*, *Cesar*, *Marinus*, and sundry others vsing these kinde of words in effect following: *Ego met in agmine, in Prælio, consultor idem & socius periculi vobiscum adero: Me vosq; in omnibus rebus iuxta geram*. Both, in the Esquadron & fight (O worthy soldiours) you shal haue mee present a Counsaile & companion in all perills: Wherein, as your fortune shall be, the same shalbe myne.

Who is so rude of witt, that if the same be requisite in other things, in Peace, it is much more to be desired in warres.

The

The presence of the Maister oft times causeth his sayres, with dilligence and greater facility to haue fortunate proceedings. Nor truely the prudent *Poet* (discriminating the wars betwixt the *Latins* and the *Ruteli*,) was of other minde, sayeng *Virget Præsentia Turni*, the presence of *Turnus* prouoked the courage of his souldiours, by which most euident reasons it was iudged that *Valet* the prince of the order of the *Ioannits* should haue done both manfully and most prudently according to his function, if according to his determination hee had ben present at the defence of the breach among his souldiours, if the *Turks* had assailed the same. The same time the king of *Argire* with leauen gallyes & ten other ships, in which were two thousand and two hundred souldiours, came to the aide of the *Turks* army in *Malta*. Who seeming to be very sory, that he was not there at the beginning of the warres, required of *Mustapha*, to haue so much honour shewed him, that both for the declaration of his good will, for the exployt of some notable seruice & to proue what courage rested in his owne souldiours he might haue the formost place with his souldiours to assault the fortres of *Saint Michael*, which not onely was graunted to him, but also *Mustapha* caused two thousand chosen souldiours of the army of the *Turk*, to be ioyned to him, which being granted to him, about 90 small ships were commanded to be brought from *Porto Musetto*, vnto the water of *Marza*, for that vpon that side the king of *Argire* purposed vpon the water to giue the assault vnto the fortres. Which when the *Prince Valet* did perceue, as also, having had intelligence of this the *Turks* preparation & deuise, by a certaine fugitiue that came out of the campe

campe to him. Immediately he called before him two of the best practised & faithfull pilots, that were in *Borgo*, & of them demanded by what meanes the *Turks* might be enbarred from the approaching to the toothe of the wall of the fortresse. The pilots answered that their opinions were, if of masts of ships, and other timber ioyned together at the ends with ringes of Iron, and thereof as it were a long chaine to be made, and the one end thereof to be fastned from the corner of the castle of *Saint Angelo*, vnto the other side, where the enimie with their boates were determined to enter, the enimies deuises should bee vtterly stopped in that behalfe. This pollicie liked the great Maister in such sort, that in the night following, the chaine was ended, and placed accordingly. The *Turkes* in the dawning of the morning, seeing this chaine placed to enbarre their pretences, were astonished, not knowing how to land the souldiours: but while the king of *Argire* and his company were in this case, a fugitiue a Christian, a man of meruailous hardinesse, (to which kinde of persons, rashnesse serueth for vertue, and desperation in stead of constancy) came to the king, and promised that he would breake this chaine afore said. Wherevpon (taking an axe with him) did enter into the water, after whom followed two or three others, to aide and help him, and so swimming to this chayne, this fugitiue began to strike at this chayne with his axe. Which when the Christians in *Borgo*, did perceiue, about fife or sixe of them with their swords drawn did on their part by and by swimme likewise to the defence of the chayne, where, after killing two of that company, those Christians did put the other to flight.

Z.

After

After that, none was so bold to put in prooffe the like againe: Neuerthelesse, the king of *Argire*, dyd not leaue his purpose, for the xv day of *Iuly*, at the breake of day, he proceded to the assalt, both by land and vvater.

The *Christians* perceuing the pretence of the *Argirians*, had prepared the most part of their Artillerie to be laied towards that place vvhere the *Argirians* came to giue the assalt. So as, vpon the repaire of the *Turks*, the Artillerie of the *Christians* vvere vnbended with such violence by the space of three houres, during the time of the assalt, that with the bullets of the Canon & other Artillerie, about two thousand *Turks* were torne in peeces & drowned, with twelue of their ships. Howbeit the most part of their ships approching to the Chaîne, & perceauing the same to enbarre them to land where they purposed, they turned the shippes vpon an other part towards the Fortres of *Saint Michael*, but doing nothing, they likewise vvere enforced to retourne.

Vpon the land, likewise, it vvase meruailously fought, so as many *Turks* vvere slaine, and two hundred of our *Christians* vvanting, among vvhome *Frederic*, the sonne of *Dom Garza*, Viceroy of *Sicell*, vvase torne in peeces vvith an Iron Bullet, also one *Gordio* a Frenchman: *Francis Senoghera*, vvith his Neew *Iohn*, *Hispaniards* borne, and knights of the *Ioannits*. *Medina*, there, likewise vvase wounded to death, vvho afterward dyed of the same.

But the Prince *Valet*, perceauing in what perills the state of vvhole *Malta* should stand in, if many such batailles vvere often fought, vvhan as, those that were vvearie, both day and night should continually haue

to

to doe with the fresh and new Soldiours of the *Turks*, and to haue no maner of supply of soldiours, sent to succour them. Therefore the seuententh of *Iuly*, he sent a messenger into *Sicilia*, who by swimming passed from the Castle at the viter bay: leading to the water of *Marza*, and from thence escaped vnknewen through the middest of the enemies, vnto the Cittie of *Malta*, and so from *Malta* taking shipping, came with diligence to *Messana*. To this messenger, *Valet*, gaue letters, by the which he required that he might haue those two Gallies of his owne, there remaining, and the same to be furnished and sent with those number of knights of the *Ioannits*, as vvere remaining at *Messana*, and with so many other soldiours as might fill and replenish those Gallies. And that, vpon their coming nigh to *Malta*, they should abide a loose before the Port, vnto such time they had a conuenient signe made vnto them whether they might safely enter the Port yea or no.

At which time that the messenger of *Malta*, came to *Messina*, there came thether a fleet of ships out of *Spain* that brought in the same sundry knights of the order of *Ioannits*, of diuers nacions. Whan as the Viceroy purposed to send away to *Malta*, the two gallies written for, he first thought meet to write to the great Master certaine letters Ciphred by two seuerall little shippes, wherby he signified to the great Master, that with those he sent the two Gallies for y which he wrote: howbeit he required that the Gallies might haue assured signe made vnto them, vvhan they came in sight of the land, whether they might enter without eident peril or no.

Zij.

These

These two litle ships, thus departing from *Messana* towards *Malta*, (whereof the one was furnished with sundry simples and medicaments pertaining to Physick & Surgerie, dyd not both keepe one course of Sayling: Whereby the bote that had the Medicaments for Physick and Surgery, came into the hands of the *Turks*, as afterward vvas learned, the other arrived safe in *Malta*. Neuerthelesse because, a few daies before, all the waies betwene *Saint Michaels* and the Citie of *Malta*, vvere vterly enbarred by the *Turks*, and that three Christians vvvhich vvere vsed to goe and come betwixt those places, in their passing vvere surprised & taken by the *Turks*, and most cruelly put to death. And besides, the entries of the Ports vvere vigilantly garded, that none vvithout the knowledge of the *Turks* could vvell enter. Whereby the knights of the order, resting at *Messana*, could not tell how to send safely the two Gallies away to *Malta*. Notwithstanding considering that the great Maister so earnestly vvrote to haue them, & that they thought, *Vbi rerum agitur summa, vnius particule periculum, minus esse metuendum*. Where the vvhole affaires rest in daunger, the perill and losse but of a part & particle thereof for the conseruacion of the rest ought the lesse to be regarded and feared. they determined vvith themselves to commit the two Gallies to the guiding of Fortune; alwaies aforeseeing, that all those knights of the order, should not passe in that hazard, but onely fortie of them ioyned vvith a good number of soldiours, that furnished vp the two Gallies. With these passed Captain *Salazar*, an *Hispaniard*, in a bote towed by the Gallies, into the lland of *Goza*: vvho after from  
thence

thence passed into *Malta*, to espie both the state of the Citie, and the *Turks* Arme. The meane tyme, the *Turks* not forgetting, the great overthrow and repulse that they receaped at their late assalt at *Saint Michaels*, and not a litle desirous to retuenge the same, therefore they began vvith terrible fury theyr batterie againe, against the Fortres of *Saint Michael*, in such sort, as that so much as the defendours repaired vp in the night, the *Turks* by day by their Artillery ouerthrew and brake. While the enemies Artillerie, dyd their feate, the *Turks* deuised theyr bridge, vvvhich they finished, and dyd sett ouer the dyke before the Sunne rysing, the twentieth of *July*, vvhereby they might come to hand strokes vvith out *Christians*. Which being perceaued by the defendours, and considered, vvhat detriment the bridge vvould import, if the same vvere suffered: Immediately *Seignior Parisoto* the great Maisters New, and *Agleria*, knights of the Order, vvith a good company of other soldiours, issued forth of entent to haue burned the bridge. Who in such sort vvere receaued by the *Turks*, that vvithout executing the matter, they came for all those that issued together vvith *Parisoto* and *Agleria*, vvvere vverily slaine. The *Turks* (this space) ceased not to continue the fury of their Artillery in battering the walls, vntill the xxviij. day of *July*; So as, that afternone, they couragiously assalted the Fortres on sundry parts thereof; and thise did send fresh men, to supply the roomes of their soldiours that were either vvery in the fight or ouerthrowen in the assalt, & so manfully the *Turks* stood to their mark, that they doubted not to gaine the Fortres that day.



But our Christians on their part with no lesse valiant courage resisted them, & with very force, what by Gunshot, arrowes, wilde fire & handstrokes, at last they compelled the *Turks* to retire from the assault, with incredible losse. With this victory, the hearts of the defenders in such manner encreased that they cared nothing for the malice of the enemy. And because there was not so often skirmishing on our side, as was wont, and that the artillery of the *Christian* side, began to stay from shooting, the *Turks* supposed, that there was few souldiours left on live in the fortres, & that their furniture of powder, shot, and other things, were spent. Which stay from skirmishing & shooting, was rather done of purpose by the counsaile and deuile of the *Prince Valet*, then for any want of those matters in the fortres, & for a good cause, considering that he heard of no maner of certaine aide, at that time, & that every day more & more the enemies fury & malice did grow the greater, hee thought it not requisite, to consume his garrisons & other furnitures idely & to no purpose. But the *Turks* perceyuing, that by these often assaults of theirs, theyr pretences toke little effect, they determined with themselves to prooue what they could by myning, and one mine they had in maner brought to passe, beefore our *Christians* did perceiue the same, & to the end they might blinde the eyes of the defenders, they caused two gallyes towards the water, to aproch the wals of the towne of *Saint Michael*, & to beate at the same with theyr artillery, supposing by the same that the garrison to haue forsaken their charge, & to haue aided the rest, would haue neglected the custody of the wals of the castle, & so by this mine, to haue entred into the

the fortres. But the defenders, vnderstanding the subtile pollicies of the *Turks*, by the meanes & prudence aswell of certaine of the garrison, as chiefly of one of the ensignebearers ther, brought vitterly to naught the mine of the enemy, by a contermine. For the ensigne bearer first entring the mine of the enemy, with a lanterne in hand, & casting certain arteficial fire among the enemies in the mine, that whether the enemy would or no, hee draue them out of the mine. For which good seruice done, the great master rewarded this worthy ensigne bearer with the gift of a chaine of gold wayeng five pounds, & because that *Virtus virtutem parit, eaq; in arduo sita est*, one vertuous act, allureth another to do the like, though the same be very difficult to attaine vnto. The next day after which was the first of *August*, certaine of the garrison of the fortres issued forth, & with powder burnt to peeces the bridge which the *Turks* before had deuised & layed ouer the dike, which worthy deed so done, turned to the whole fortres a wonderfull commodity. For the next day after, at the Sun setting the *Turks* assaulted agayne the fortresse, vpon that part which was garded by *Carolo Rosso*, where by the space of three houres, it was valiauntly foughten on each side, but in the ende the *Christians* repulsed the *Turkes*, leauing beehinde them three hundred slaine. And on the *Christian* part remayned dead, *Rosso* himselfe with one *Bareso*, and certaine other souldiours.

This while during the assault the *Turks* in such sort exercised their great artillery with continuall shot, that none of the defenders durst scarce shew his head to looke into the dike, but immediatly he was dispatched, but

but for all that, where occasion of any worthy seruice was at that instant to be shewed, the souldiours of the fortresse would not spare his life, to execute the same. As well appeared in *Calderonia* the *Hispaniard*, who when hee doubted that the enemy was breaking that part of the wall of bulwarke, called the bulwarke of *Castile*, hee issued immediatly to espy and know the same, but in a moment hee was slaine with the bullet of an arquebuse. Whose infortunity as to some it would haue beene a terrour and feare, so was the same not the lesse an encouragement of the rest, to endeavour to doe the like seruice. For when they perceiued that the enemy did what they could to fill vp the dike of the fortresse, they of the garrison determined rather to end their liues with honour, then to come into the hands of a most cruell enemy, and therefore concluded together to issue forth that night vpon the enemy, and to enbar them of their purpose.

Wherevpon a hundred of the garrison issued forth, part whereof were *Ioannits* and part souldiours that tooke wages, and so worthely gaue charge vpon the enemy, that they enforced them to forsake the dikes and to flie away a pace, leauing behinde them slaine fourescore *Turks*, and ten killed of our side, among whom of the Christian part remayned dead two knights of the order *Giouanni Cantabro*, and one *Macrino*, whose heads the cruell *Turks* had cut from their bodies, and planting them vpon speares, did set them in the vale of *Saint Sauiors*, to be viewed of the fortresse. That day at night, those that were in the citie of *Malta*, made many boné fires, and therewith shot of their arquebuses, shewing there-

thereby a great token of reioyce: Which both those that were beleaged, and the *Turks* also hard very well, whereby the *Turks* supposed, that either the Nauie of the *Christians* began to approch the Iland of *Malta*, or else such supply of *Christians* were landed, that was hable to encounter with the *Turks* Armie there. But it was none of those two matters, and onely of purpose done, aswell to shew their owne courages, as to make the *Turks* estonished vvith the newnesse of the matter.

The *Turks* the meane time filled the dike of the Bulwarke of *Castile*, which thing caused that neither the *Turks* could be endamaged by the Casematts of the dyke being cloyed vp; nor yet by the Flankers from the Bulwarke of *Amerne*. Whereby the *Turks* without any maner of impediment, might easelier enough assault the breach which they with their Artillerie, before, had made. Also from their Mount placed vpon the right hand of *Saint Sauiors*, they began to beate vchemently, with two brasen peeces there planted, so as, that at the first stroke, they beat in at a window made for the shooting out of Artillerie, vvherwith the enemy vvas vvont to be encombered, of the vvhich place one *Francis Castilia* had the charge: so expert vvere the Canoners of the *Turks* part.

Also one *Giouanni Barnardo Godineto* a *Spaniard*, and knight of the Order, vvith the stroke of an Arquebuzé ended his lyfe. That day *Francis Aquilates*, a *Spaniard*, one of the Garrison of *Saint Michaell*, hauing vvife and children in the Isle of *Gozo*, allured by two vvicked counsaillours, that is to say, Feare and Hope, shamefully

fully fledde out of the Towne of *Saint Michaels*, vnto the Enemie, counsailling the Enemie to Assault the Towne againe, saying, that without all doubt, they should vvinne the Towne, if they would attempt the same againe, because there were scarce foure hundred Soldiours left, and yet what with extreme labors that they had suffered during the siege, and what by their hurtes and wounds, they were not able to endure longer, as for the rest of the Soldiours that were ther, they were utterly consumed & dead. Wherefore the *Turks* perceuing, that such breaches already were made, by their Artillery, in the townes of *Borgo* & *Saint Michael*, that Carts were able to passe thorough them, they purposed to assault both those townes at once, and to proue whether there rested in the garrisons of those two townes such courage and force, as were able to giue them such repulse againe, as before so often they had receaued.

Therefore vpon the seauenth of *August*, at one instant houre, the *Turks* assailed *Borgo* at the Bulwark of *Castile*, and the Fortres of *Saint Michael*, with such a fury and multitude, that the vvhole earth thereabouts was couered with the enemie. And such was the thunder of the great Artillerie, the haile of the Harquebuze shot, the noise of Armour, the saufare of Trumpets, the sound of Drummes, and cries of men of each side, that Heauen & Earth seemed to beate together.

Which vvhā the bands of Horsemen that were in the citie of *Malta* heard by the thundering of the great Artillerie, and saw the Skies obscured with the smoke of the same, and doubting that the *Turks* would not leaue

leaue the assaults, vnto such tyme they had vwonne the Townes, as they dyd, before *Saint Hermes*: Immediately all the Horlemen most valiantly issued out of the Citie of *Malta*, and to the ende to turne the enemie from the Assault, they gaue charge vpon those bands of *Turks* that garded the sick and wounded persons resting at the vwater of *Marza*. Who thus being assailed vpon the sodaine, fled, and our Horsemen chasing them in killing and ouerthrowing them meruailously.

The noise, and cries of such as fled, being perceived by those *Turks* (vvhō all this vvhile were occupied in the assault of *Saint Michael*) they were enforced at that tyme to leaue the fight, and to come to succour the rest that fled. Thus were the *Turks* repulsed from both the Townes, leauing behinde them slayne, about 1500 *Turks* besides those that were slaine by the Horsemen of the Citie of *Malta*, before they had succours from the Campe. Of the *Christian* part of both the Townes were slaine more than an hundred, and as many wounded: both the assaults continued more than fve houres.

Heere *Monsieur Valet*, beeing thus deliuered that day, and many other, from such eident perills, caused generall Prayer to bee made to Almighty GOD, and hee him selfe with the vvhole Townes men, repaired to the Church about the same.

While these things, were thus in doing, *Dom Garza* the Vice Roy of *Sicel*, had secret intelligence out of *Calabria*, that *Soliman* the Emperour of the *Turks* had caused certaine ships to be set in a redines at *Constantinople*

Aa.ij.

which

which were furnished vvith soldiours, victuall, & other necessities appertaining to the vvarres, to be sent to *Malta*. Wherefore to meet with them, the *Viceroy* sent the Lords *Altamira* and *Gildandrada*, accompanied with five Galleaccis: vvho departing to the Seas, and sailing vntill they came vvithin xxx. miles of *Malta*, they could not see nor heare of the ships that they sought for; but onely of a Gallie and a little Barque of the *Turks*. The Gallie vvvas taken, and the Barque escaped away to the *Turkes*.

This vvwhile, *Mustapha* thinkeing there vvvas none so strong, but that continuall labour and vvatching vvould in the ende breake and vvaken him vvterly, he thought conuenient, to keepe the defendours occupied vvithout giueing them any manner of rest, in all that he could: therefore he commaunded that the Fortres of *Saint Michael*, should be assailed againe at the breaches before made by the Artillery. But the *Turks* by the valiant defenders vvvere quickly repulsed: vvith no litle destruction of the enemy.

These often assaults, this *Bassa* dyd not make, in that he had any great hope to vvinne these Places, but rather to shew him selfe to execute the function and office of an expert Generall, and to satisfie the minde of his *Prince Solimane*, vvho had commaunded them, either to winne the places, or else there to losse their liues about the same.

But also the *Bassa* had dispatched and sent a litle Barque away vvith Letters to *Solimane*, by the vvch he gaue him intelligence of the state of his Nauie, vvith what meruailous inconueniēces his army vvvas afflicted,

what

what small hope he had to win the places of the *Christians*, and what preparation the *Christians* were in making to giue succours to *Malta*, & other such like things. The meane time the two gallies of *Malta*, departed from *Meffana*, and came to *Sarragoza*, where they tarried one day, while the ship of *Salazar* was set on ground to talow, to make hir more swift of saile, and that the better the next day after they might passe together, the famous promontory and lands end of *Sicilia*, called *Pachina*. The next day, as they departed out of the haven of *Sarragoza*, they encountred a boate that came from *Pozalo*, hauing in the same one of *Malta*, beeing very sore wounded, who beeing demaunded, who had in such sort euelly entreated him, answered that when as he & a companion of his, that other night, ariued nigh that port, and so required by two *Sicilians*, that had houses vpon the shore, to come on land, and to lodge with them that night, which they did, sodainely the night being quiet, five *Turks* landed, by whom the two *Sicilians* were taken, and his companion slaine, and he himselfe hurt, as they did see, which two *Sicilians* that were taken also told those *Turks*, that in the port were riding two gallies, hauing in the same sundry knights of the order, with other souldiours, to passe in *Malta*, by whose words the knights of the order, in those two gallies well perceiued, that theyr going into *Malta*, vvvas discovered to the enemy, whereby they knew it vvvas either most dangerous for them, to enter the port of *Borgo* in *Malta*, or else vvterly impossible. Neuerthelesse they dread not to keepe on their course towards *Malta*, towing at their sternes the boate of *Salazar*.

Aa.iii.

While

While these two galleyes thus sayled they perceiued not farre beefore them two other Gallies, and a little Barque, who espying the two Gallies of the *Christians* to follow them, made all the hast they could towards *Malta* from them, whereby the *Christians* thought, that without doubt, they were the Gallies that had sent the five *Turkes* on land, who had done those hurts, which hee of *Malta*, beefore recounted to them.

Howbeit the two *Christian* Gallies continued theyr course vnto *Pozalo*, from whence by theyr letters they gaue intelligence to the *Viceroy*, of occurrants to them happened in theyr voyage. And forsomuch as they could not proceede on their course, in that the South and Southwest windes, were so much contrarious to them, they retyred with their Gallies to *Sarragoza* agayne, and so to proceede as the *Viceroy* should further aduise them. About the which, immediatly a knight of the order, was sent from thence to *Messana*, to the *Viceroy*, whole counsell was, that the two galleyes should stay at *Sarragoza*, for the rest of the whole Navy, that right shortly would come and accompany them into *Malta*.

But *Salazar* being brought to *Pozalo*, determined in his boate to continue forward his course, and albeit at the time, that hee departed from *Pozalo*, the seas were meruaylously troubled with windes, thunders, & other stormes, the other daies following wer so quiet & calme that within a short time, *Salazar* ariued safely at the citie of *Malta*, and there taking apparell of a *Turk* vpon him, and like weed for a companion of his, that could

speake

speake the *Turkish* tongue as hee could, by night they departed thence into the Campe of the *Turkes* to espy the estate of the *Turkish* armie, where they espying that, they came for, they perceyued that the whole number of the *Turkes* left on liue in theyr Campe, amounted scarce to fouretene thousand men, whereof many of them were hurt, and very sicke, the residue, were but an vnmeet and vnwarlike company, considering that their former fights and assaults had consumed their best souldiours, and after hauing secretly viewed the manner and forme of theyr encamping, *Salazar* vvith his companion retourned backe to the citie of *Malta* againe.

The next night after, *Salazar* vvith one *Pietro Pascio* a *Spaniard* a gentleman of meruaylous hardinesse and courage, repayred to a place nigh vnto the beacon or vvatch place called *Maleca*, vvich place when hee had thoroughly considered, hee left *Pietro* there, and keeping in memory the signes and tokens of the cities of *Gozo* and *Malta*, as *Pietro* shewed him, to the ende to declare the same to the *Viceroy*.

*Salazar* taking passage in his owne boate againe, found fortune so much to bee his friend, that shortly after hee ariued at *Messana*, vvhere hee discovered to the *Viceroy*, vvhat hee had seene, amongst many talkes, hee shewed how vveake the *Turkish* Navy remayned, how slender theyr Armie on land was, voyde of good souldiours, and weapon, that theyr whole number of *Turkes* were not able to encounter, with tenne thousand *Christians*.

To

To affirme the wordes of *Salazar* to bee true, at that time returned one of the two little shippes, wherof I told you beefore, that were sent to bee espialls in *Malta*, bringing with him a *Spaniard*, and a fugitiue out of the *Turks* campe, beesides, also retourned foure gallyes that beefore were sent from *Messana*, who brought with them foureteene *Turks*, whom they had taken about *Malta*, who all approued the wordes of *Salazar* to be true, that is to say, that the *Turks* army was meruailously diminished, and that with beatings, they could not be compelled scarcely to aproach to the walls, for which cause the *Bassa*, had slaine sundry of them. And the thing that made the *Turks* so affraied, was that they saw neuer any of them whom the *Christians* wounded, but hee lost his life.

Besides that, they said, they did see the *Christians*, with incredible hardinesse defend their places, & that no peece of artillery of the *Christians* side, was at any time vainely blowen of, wherefore the *Turks* affirmed, they had right good cause, to bee weary and repent & to detest such wars, which made them to eschew vterly to fight, and vterly to flie away, and chiefly such as were *Renegants*, that had forsaken the *Christian* faith and become *Turks*. For which cause there was right strait watch set by the *Bassa*, and commandement giuen by him, that either they should winne the towne, or else to loose their liues all, for so had *Soliman* their prince commaunded. These words and such like ( which the *Turks* that were taken did tell to the *Viceroy*, ) made the *Viceroy* to let forth his nauie in a readinesse more soone then otherwise peraduenture he would. In the Fortres  
of

of *Borgo*, this vvhile, vvas one *Francis Giuara*, a Captain, a very hardy gentleman and vvonderfull Ingenious, he a litle from that place vvhere the enemie vvith Artillerie had beaten downe a part of the vvall of the towne, builded a peece of Fortification, contayning in length fittie paces, & in bredth five paces, vvith two flanking Corners : vvich being finished vvithin two nights, turned afterward to a meruailous help and ayde of the defendours of that Towne.

The enemies, the meane tyme, vnder the corner of the Dike vvhere *Boninsegna* the *Spaniard*, a vvorthie Knight of the *Ioannits* had his charge, began to myne, vvich vvhan the defenders perceued, they encountered the same vvith an other myne, & thereby brought the myne of the enemie to none effect.

During this tyme, vvwhile a Fugitiue vvas comming from the enemie towards *Borgo* & swimming the vvater, the *Turks* tooke him, vvich vvas a meruailous hinderance to the *Christians* that vvere vvonderfully desirous to know of the estate of the *Turks* Armie, and of their Counsaills. But the enemies seeing the small successe of their purposes, vvould yet proue further deuises, and therefore caused two mynes to be made, one towards a Bulwark of *Saint Michael*, and the other to the Bulwark of *Castile*, into the vvich Mynes for docing of the feate, vvere certaine Barrells of Powder bestowed.

Howbeit the pretences of the *Turkes* could not so prudently be vvrought, but through the vigilances of the defendours, the same vvas espyed, and so came to passe, that they Mynes came to none effect, and

Bb.

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the *Turks* slaine in their owne Mynes, vvith losse also of such barrells of Pouder, as they had layed there, vvwhich the *Christians* recovered from them.

With these offences and difficulties, the hopes of *Mustapha* and *Pial*, the *Bassas* of the *Turks*, being vtterly ouerthrowen, they vvith the residue of the Captaines entred in Counsaill to know vvwhether it were expedient to tarrie any longer, or else to retourne home : Whereof the most part, vvvere of aduise, that they should depart . But *Mustapha* vvvas of an other opinion, saying, that hee thought conuenient they should tarry vntill the Gallie vvwhich he sent to *Constantinople* to *Solimane* their prince, vvith letters, retourned againe . Whereby they might vnderstand vvhat the pleasure of the Prince vvwere for them to doe in such behalfe : and in the meane tyme, by force or guile, to seeke some good Fortune of victorie. Which in deede the Enemies prooued and attempted more often, than that they gained thereby.

For as they themselues vvwere vnquieted, so they purposed not to lett bee in rest the poore *Christians*, sometime in exercising their vsuall fury vvith Artillerie, sometyme either myning, or entrenching, or filling the dikes, or else assalting some breach to theyr owne losse : howbeit, all vvwhich that they dyd, they executed the same vvwith meruailous diligence and in small time . Therefore vvhan as, *Robles* Maister of the Tents, in the night came to view the ruine and ouerthrow of a part of the vvall, he vvvas suddenly smitten in the head vvwith a bullet of an Harquebuzze, and immediately dyed, to the great lamentacion of all such

as had knowne him . For in him vvwere resident sundrie good artes ; vvith vvwhich he profited much those that vvwere besieged . Wherefore the Great Maister sent a notable gentleman right expert in the vvarres, that vvvas Coronell of the Fautery (vvhome vnto that time he kept about him selfe;) to be generall of the Fortres of *Saint Michaels*, vvho vvith such singuler prudence guided his charge, vvith vvatching, counsailling, and prouidence, that so often as the Enemies gaue attempt to that peece, they vvver alwaies repulsed, vvwith no litle detriment & losse. The meane time those two gallies vvwith thother ships of the *Turks* (vvwhich (as before I did tell you) vvwere espied by the two *Christian* gallies of *Malta*,) arriuing among the *Turks* Nauie, shewed vnto *Pial Bassa*, the Admirall, that the *Christian* Nauy vvvas in redinesse to come to *Malta*, vvho dreading the sodaine comming of that Nauie, commaunded 70. of his long ships to be put in a redinesse, leauing 40. ships in the Port of *Musetto*, being the residue of his Nauie, which vvver vtterly out of furniture, & vnarmed both of men & tackle: the masts of vvwhich 40. ships, wer cōsumed about making of bridges, & other necessities, for the assalting of the places in *Malta*, & the men therof likewise wer spent vvwith sūdry diseases, & fights wherein they serued: Therefore *Pial*, for certaine daies, abode all the day time nigh the shore of *Malta*, about a place ther called *Maïaro*, & in y time he staied abroad vpon the high Sea, abiding the comming of the *Christian* nauie. But he perceuing none to come, he landed his company again : & forsomuch as that the furniture of powder began to decaie in the *Turkes* Campe, therefore vvvas giuen that



of euery thirty barrells of Pouder, in euery ship twentie or foue & twenty barrells according to the appointed porcion should be taken. Whereby the *Turks*, vvith greater fury than euer they did before, battered the vualles of both the Townes, vvith such great peeces of Artillery as are called *Basiliscois*: vvhereof euery bullet shot out of the same waieith two hundreth pound, and in compasse seauen spannes. With these peeces of Artillerie the vuals of the Fortres of *Saint Michael*, vvere thrown downe and made flat. Likewise at that time, *Mustapha Bassa*, in such sort at *Borgo* beat the Bulwark of *Castile* vvith Artillery, that in maner the same vvvas ouerthrowen. Whan as the enemies perceaued that both the townes vvvas vtterly made voide, both of their vuals and other peeces of Fortification, so as the *Turks* might looke vpon the *Christians*, and the *Christians* on them: vvithout further tarrieng: the *Turks* vpon the eighteenth of *August*, at noone tyme of the day, vvith their vniuersal armie gaue charge vpon both the towns, at the vvch the Enemies, vvere three times put back, and thrise returned, and in the end the *Turks* were vtterly repulsed, after fve houres fight.

In this most dreadfull assalt, the inuincible courage of the *Prince Valet*, was apparant to each one, who armed with his Curace, and formidable with his Picke in hand, was seene beefore the rest of the *Christians* most valyantly fighting. Whose manfull presence, not onely gaue courage to his soldiours ther, but also moued vp the harts of the boies & women in such extremity to doe notable seruice. For so it cometh to passe oftentimes, *Magis homines mouentur exemplis quam verbis.*

That

That men are more stirred forwards with examples of well doeing, then by onely doeings. Of this great number of the *Turks*, a part of them had gotten downe into the dikes of *Borgo*, and there tarried, and to the end they should not bee damaged with the flankers of the bulwarke of *Castile*, they fortised themselues on the flanke with earth and fagot, which they accomplished right quickly. And for this purpose they did the same, that they might vnderminde and sape the walls, about the which they had occupied the space of fiftie yards.

When the garrison of *Borgo* vnderstoode the pollicy of the *Turks*, who thus had gotten into the dike, they immediatlie caused certaine of the great artillery to be shot off, alongst that part of the dike, wherewith & with fire also hurled into the dike, a great sort of the *Turkes* with theyr fortyfication in the dyke, were destroyed. The next dey after the enemyes renewed at the same places, their fights agayne, euer supplyeng the places of their wearied souldiours, with fresh men. But first of all, ensuing theyr vsuall custome, they beat at both the townes with their artillery vntill night, then about mid-night, when the Moone shined vpon the earth, this furious assalt with raging cruelty and force began, which at the first made our *Christians* somewhat afraied, who hauing yet memory of their former manhooch, & vertue, so behaued themselues, with their wilde fire, shot, & other weapons, that the enemyes were enforced to depart right euelly handled, into their campe, after three houres fighting.

That day, another mine of the enemyes was found made towards the fortyfication of the bulwarke of *Castile*

Bb.iii.

stile

file, in the which were perceyued to bee a hundred *Turks*, who vvere all slayne, and the mine broken. Nor for all that, the day following, the enemy was quiet, but seauen times inuaded those places agayne, and sending fresh souldiours, who not onely with vveapon, but also with bags of powder and fire, continued their fight. At the which *Boninsenna* hauing his face burned, lost an eye. Likewise, at that instant the enemy assailed the fortres of *Saint Michael*, at a place called *Sperone*, assayeng at that part, to haue entred the fort, wher *Centio Aquitano*, vvith an inuincible courage, mounting on the ramper, vvith his *Picke* most manfully fought to the ouerthrow of such of the enemyes, as enterprised to ascend the ramper, & after killing one of the enemies, to the feare of the rest, beeing shot thorough one of his armes vvith the stroke of an harquebuze, and retyring himselfe, vntill hee had dressed his wound, manfully hee retourned againe to his place, & from thence he departed not vntill such time as the enemy forooke the assalt. & hee remayned victorious. Thus the *Turks* at both the places, with meruailous losse of their souldiours were repulsed, leauing the victory to the *Christians*, of which our *Christians* were then slaine, to the number of an hundred, wherof the most part were torne in peeces, with the *Turks* artillery. Among whom at the ruine of the bulwarke of *Castile*, was slaine one *Frago*, and at the fortres of *Saint Michael*, *Scipio Prato*, *Gionanni Baptista Soderino*, *Paulo Boniporto*, *Marino Fagiano*, *Ruffino*, all knights of the order of the *Ioannits*, and sundrie others, worthie of longer life. The *Turks* againe wrought an other mine, at the fortres of *Saint Michael*, which when the defenders perceiued

ceyued, they so prouided for the same that the mine rooke none effect.

With such and many attempts and fights, certaine of the knights, & not of the lowest sort of them, tearing that, which so often is assailed, at the last may be gotten, said to the great Master, that they thought good that all the bookes of good learning and tables, and reliques of *Saints*, and other matters of religion, were meet to bee had out of the towne into the *Castle of Saint Angelo* as into the most sure and safest place. The great master though hee knew right well, that all which they spake proceeded of a right good zeale & minde, neuertheless nothing moued therewith, he answered them in this sort, that this their aduise, was none other thing thē an vtter discouragement of the minds of all the *Christians* ther, who vnto that time had shewed them so valiāt, a great deale aboue any mans expectation, therefore he was fully purposed to saue all, or loose all: & to the end that none should haue further confidence in the castle *Angelo*, he was fully determined to bring forth the garrison there, to ioyn them with the rest to fight against the enemy, & to leaue in the castle onely gunners to beat at the enemy as neede should require. An aunswere right worthy giuen of such prince, & to bee commended to perpetuall memory of posterity, for how should the souldiours hope, when he seeth his generall in dispaire, or to doe any hardie act worthy of commendacion, wher the generall is full of vaine feare. While the great master, thus with this aunswere, not onely made them ashamed that gaue him this said aduise, but also renewed the harts of some that feared, with further courage.

The

The *Turkes* determyning with themselves that, that day ( no lesse than the other three dayes were before ) should not bee voyde of some fight, furiously assailed be. times in a morning, those two townes, with greater force, then hee dyd before, chiefly at the ruines of *Castile*, wher *Sanromanus* of *Aruernia* defending that quarter, lost this brittle lyfe, gayning immortality for the same. At *Saint Michaels*, *Adornio*, a knight of the order, with one *Fagio*, and sundre others, were wounded, for the enemy tarried not long at the assault, but retyred. When as immediatly the enemy began the vsuall thundering of his artillery agayne, that therewith the whole Island seemed to tremble, & the Skyes to be set on fire. The meane tyme *Valet* beeing weary with the morning fight, departed for the time, to recreat himselfe, when sodaynely a *Spanish* Priest, with his hands holding vp to heauen, ran, and met with the *Prince Valet*, sayeng & cryeng out, *Malta* alas is lost, for three or foure ensignes of the enemyes, are already entred the towne, in at the ruynes of *Castile*. Which when the *Prince Valet* heard, forthwith hee did put on his head his *Burganet*, & with his *Picke* in his hand, came among his souldiours sayeng. Beeholde most worthy companions the houre is now come, wherein you must shew your selues valyant defenders of the *Christian* religion, for if you still haue with you that noble courage, which you haue alwayes hetherto shewed in the former assaults, there is no cause why you should doubt in this extremity, for you see but the same enemy, and we haue still our former God with vs, who as hetherto hee hath mercifully saued vs, so he will now defend vs. Therefore most worthy sons

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all, come on with mee; & let vs couragiously giue them the charge. With these words, *Valet* him selfe gaue the onset, fighting stoutly wher the greatist peril remained, after him, manfully followed his Soldiours, yea, the townesmen, children, women & old men, right fearfully striking at the *Turks* that were entred. Where the fight on each side was exceding cruel & perillous, some stopped the enemies from further entring, some killed them entring, some gaue them the chase in wounding & driuing them forth againe. The *Turks* resisted meruailously, and thus it was couragiously fought on each part: within and without the grounds was couered with all sorts of weapon, dead bodies, and blood.

The Great Maister as cause serued, was alwaies present, prouiding euery necessarie: some he praised, some he encouraged, some he monished, & he himselfe right liuely fought. executing sometime no lesse the act of a worthie Soldiour, than also the function of a most prudent Generall. At last, with the Sunne set, this cruell conflict ended: and the Great Maister remained victorious, but not without losse of two hundreth of his men. Where, of the enemies were slaine to the number of two thousand, besides those that entred, vwhereof none escaped. These vvere foure of the forest conflicts that the *Christians* vvhich vvere beseged, had with the *Turks*: During this time, the *Viceroy* of *Sicel*, for setting forward his Nauie into *Malta*, staid for none other matter but onely for the retourne of *Giouanni Cardono*, with his twelue long shippes that before vvas gone to *Panhorm*, to conduct and bring with him foure Shippes there with victuall.

Cc.

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But perceuing that he tarried too long, he sent a Post to him to byd him come away vvith all the speede he could, and if he could not bring away those ships vvith victuall by towing them, for their better speede, than to shippe theyr victualls in his owne shippes, and leauing the others behinde at *Panorme*, to make hast away, his owne selfe.

Therefore the *Viceroy* vvith his Naue of 72. Gallies the xx. of *August*, departed from *Messana*, and came to *Sarragoza*, bringing vvith him in his Naue ten thousand chosen men, among vvhom vvere 200, and moe, of the knights of the order of the *Ioannits*, and about fortie knights of the new order of the *Stephanits*, which order of knighthood vvvas lately founded by that most prudent Prince *Cosmo Medices*, Duke of *Florence*, in the yeere of our Lord 1561. In this they differ from the *Ioannits*, vvhere the *Ioannits* vveare the White Crosse, the *Stephanits* vveare a Redde Crosse, vvritten about vvith Gold: againe the *Stephanit*, may be once married, vvwhich cannot be permitted to the *Ioannit*.

The Iland named *Ilua*, anciently called *Æmathia*, lying in the Sea called *Tuscum*, is the place of their residence, but vnto such time as their new Citie called *Cosmopolis*, be finished, being in building by the Duke of *Florence*, being likewise the Great Maister of the same, as hee is the founder thereof. The knights of the *Stephanits*, remaine at *Pisa*, a Citie in *Italy*, vnder the dominion of *Florence*. And in that they be called *Stephanits*, it is not that they deduct or haue their name of *Saint Stephan* the *Prothomartyr*, but of one *Saint Stephan*, sometime Bishop and Patron of *Florence*; Cano-  
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nized amongst the nūber of Saints. Besids the knights of these two aforementioned orders, there vver in the *Christian* Nauy sundry Noble men, as *Ascanius Cornia*, the *Marquis* of *Pescaro*, and his brother *Annibal Estensis*, *Hercules Veranus*, *Æneas Pius*, *Capinus*, *Vincentius*, of the Familie of the *Vitellij*, and sundry others of Noble parentage, and famous in the vvwarres.

The *Christian* Nauy being thus arriued in the Port of *Sarragoza*, the *Viceroy* sent immediately *D'auri* vvith a Gallie and a litle boate into *Malta*, to the end he should land some person, and to speake vvith *Pietro Paccio* vvho (as I shewed you before) vvvas left at the Watch place of *Malta* in the Iland, and of him to learne vvhat he had spied, sithence the departure of *Salazar*. From vvhome he vnderstoode, that no shippe, that vvay, vvvas seene in the Seas, sithence *Salazars* departure sauing a Foist vvwhich the one and twentieth of *August* in the morning made towards *Gozo*, and that, that day at night (as he receaued intelligence from the vvatch of *Malta*,) sixteene Sales of Shippes came and rode at the rodested of *Salinas*, but vvwhether after they went, he could not thorow the darknes of the night obserue the same. Our *Christians* (this vvwhile, right trimly fortified themselues nere the Ruins of *Castile*, in sundry places thereof couched their Artillery in such sort, that both it was able to beat the enemy on the flank, & to scoure also alōgst the rampers ioining to the bulwark of *Bonifegna*. The *Turks*, meaning again, to assalt both the towns of *Borgo* & *S. Michael*, they first deuised as it wer a scaffold made of Timber & boards able to hold y nūber of 30. soldiors, & these to be ser at y breach of *S. Michael*, y  
Cc.ij. thorough

thorough the Artillery that should be shot from that scaffold, none of the defenders should be able to shew or mount vp his head to defend the place. Which our *Christians* perceuing, they thought the same to be intolerable, and immediately made issue forth, and putting to flight the *Turks* that garded the scaffold, and setting fire in the scaffold, did burne the same. In like maner, vvhere the *Turkes* reiected from *Borgo*, that at the ruins of *Castile*, had prepared such an other scaffold, vvhich likewise by the defenders there vvvas burnt in peeces. The next night after, our *Christians* that garded the ruins of *Castile*, issued vpon the *Turks* and not onely destroyed the enemies Fortifications towards that part, but also killed those that had the keeping and custodie of the same, and vvithout losse of any one of the *Christians*, safely retourned into their charge againe.

And albeit that daye and others after, the enemye prooued both vvith theyr Scaffolds againe, and repairing their Fortifications that vvwere cast downe, and other Ingins, to driue the defenders from the vvalls: yet all their pollicies and labours, through the vigilancies and vertues of the Defenders, came to nothing.

The *Christians* deuised a Myne vnder the Ruins of *Castile*, and in the same couched an eight barrells of Pouder, that if the enemies made attempt againe, that vvay, they vvould giue fire to the trane, and so blow them vp. And vvhile the *Christians* vvwere thus vvorking, the *Turkes* vvvas likewise myning towards that part: But the *Christians* perceauing the same, dyd get vnto the *Turkes* Myne, and not onelye getting from

from them certaine barrells of Pouder, and putting the enemyes to flight, but also destroyed the *Turks* mine, performed their owne mine. In this manner things passing on both sides, *Mustapha* the generall, being very famous & right expert in the art *Militarie*, considering that the most part of the sommer was spent, and that longer he could not well abide, and that stiffly to stand & continue against an enemye, openeth oftentimes an assured way vnto victory, hee determined therefore with his whole power to assault agayne the Fortres, of *Saint Michael*, wherefore he caused to bee brought forth the chiefe stander of *Solyman* his prince, vpon the top wher of was a globe of fine gold, and commanded with the same, the souldiours to giue the assault, and with force to enter the towne, thorough the ruines there made. The souldiours of the *Turks* therewith gaue the charge, and the *Christians* right couragiously resisted, a doubtfull conflict was on both sides. And when the *Turkes* were twice repulsed, *Mustapha* in person came vnto the trenches, with his souldiours, & perceiuing them to remaine discouraged, he began to require & exhort them not to faile him at that extremity, for that day should performe their former trauailes and victories, and not to permit his enemies, in manner ouercome, to spoile them of their long hoped victory, for the *Christians* haue not a peece of fortification left to couer themselves, all are cast downe, and that neuer a good souldiour of them were then left on liue, sauing a few wearyed & maimed sort of them, that were not able to abide the sharpe edges of their swords, with such pertinacie and stiffnesse, they gat at last the castle of *Saint Hermes*. Then

according to the vocation of each souldiour, *Mustapha* promised either mony or honours, mixing threatnings to some, & gentle words of desire, to others. The *Turks* through *Mustapha's* pretence, whether they were stirred vp vvith his sayre promises, or enforced through his threatnings, they ran frethly againe to the assalt, where the conflict of each part was vvonderfull fuyous, but in the end the *Turks* vvere enforced to retire. For our *Christians* had made a dyke, and in the same had couched two field peeces, with vvhich they beate on the flanke, a scaffolde couered with ravy hydes against burning, vvhich the enemyes had gotten in there. And at the first stroke, the scaffold was beaten in peeces with the artillery, and forty *Turks* vnder the scaffold vvere also torne in peeces, with the bullets of the same. And the same night those *Christians* that garded in *Borgo*, the bulwarke of *Castile*, issued forth vpon the *Turks*, and brake downe all the places of defence of the enemy, nigh vnto the bulwark, & besides wanne a ramper from the *Turks*, vvhich exceeded in height any peece of fortification that the *Christians* had left to defend themselves, and from the same ouerthrew the *Turks*, and dyd put them to flyght.

By this, the *Christians* vnderstoode right well, that the *Turks* had no great will to fight, and that their courages deminished, for at that ramper for the garde of the same, were left in manner three hundred *Turkes*, and our *Christians* that gaue the charge vvere not aboue twenty fve persons, and yet those three hundred as it seemed durst not abide our twenty fve. Again our *Christians* had made a myne nygh vnto the ramper of *Castile*, and

and perceyuing that a certaine number of *Turks* vvere come to that place to reedefie the places of strength vvhich the *Christians* did before cast downe, the *Christians* gaue fire to the place, vvherby sixty *Turks* ther being were blowen vp and slayne. Whyle these things, thus vvere in doing, *Dam Garza* the Viceroy of *Sicel* with his whole Nauy departed from *Sarragoza*, and hauing conuenient windes, kept his course vnto the promontorie of *Pachyno*, whan a great shippe was espyed in the sea, vvhich by soule weather as afterward was learned ) was brought to that place. That ship came out of the Island *Meninges*, and was freighted with victuall, gunpowder, and a great number of shot to haue beene conueyed to the *Turks* campe in *Malta*. The great ship espyeng the *Christian* fleet, yeelded hir selfe. Which the Viceroy in changing hir marriners sent backe to *Sarragoza*, when he vvith the rest of the fleet kept forth his course towards *Malta*, but the winde changing vpon him, and blowing vvith such a fury, he vvith the whole Nauy was driven to the Island *Agusa*, being 220 miles towards the West from *Malta*. Now was the first of *September* come, when the letters of the Viceroy came to the great Maysters handes, by the vvhich hee signified vnto him that hee would shortly bee vvith him vvith his vvhole Nauy, that a *Christian*, a prisoner, escaping out of the *Turks* shippes, gate in to the towne of *Borgo*, and told that very few Souldiours meete for any conflict was left on liue in the *Turkes* campe, and that the most part of that army, left on liue, vvith wounds, famine, & sicknesse was vvonderfully vvakened, & that daily innumerable of them dyed, saying further that the *Turkes* were pur-

purposed to lay siege to the citie of *Malta*, and had for the same put in a readinesse five great peeces for the battery, and for the drawing thereof thither, they had gotten first twelve horses, and then foure, which sometime pertayned to garrison of the citie of *Malta*.

In the meane time the *Viceroy* with the Navy of the *Christians*, which by tempest was put vnto *Aegusa*, hauing conuenient winde to retourne, came backe againe into *Sicilia* to *Drepano*, and from thence did set saile towards *Gozo*. In sayling, the two gallies of the *Ioannits* espying two foists of the *Turks* gaue charge vpon them, and tooke them, and so the fifth day of *September* came to *Gozo*. But the *Viceroy* espying no signes out of *Malta*, for conuenient and safe landing there, returned to *Pozzalo* in *Sicilia* againe. After whom *Auria* followed, and shewed that he had seene most certaine signes, out of *Malta* for safe landing there, to whose vyords the *Viceroy* giuing credit, came the day following in the morning betimes with his whole Navy to *Gozo*.

That day a fugitiue a *Christian*, stale out of the *Turks* campe, and came to *Borgo*, sayeng hee came of purpose to bring him glad tidings, that the *Turks*, the day following would proue an assalt at *Saint Michaels* fortres, and if they sped well, they would abide, and if not, to giue vp the siege and depart. And to the end that the *Turkes* should haue the better courage to serue, hee promised to him, that first worthely would fasten his ensigne vpon the walls, he should haue the reward of five talents of gold, and to promote him also to the higher roomes in the warres.

The great Master thinking (as alwayes hee did)  
that

that almighty God euer prouided such men to giue him intelligences, he gaue most humble & hartly thanks to God, and then caused euery thing to bee set in a readinesse, to overthrow the purpose of the cruell enemy.

The *Turks* all that day, with their great artillery, bett at the houses in *Borgo*, & at the ships riding in the port, wherewith a great ship there, was sunke. But *Dona Garza*, in the morning betimes departed with the *Christian* Navy from *Gozo*, and passing the straits ariued in *Malta*, and there landed his Army secretly by point of day. And while his shippes stayed for him, he marched forward with the army about a foure furlongs, shewing to the Captaynes and their lieutenants, what they should doe, and admonished them all, vnto such time as they came to the great Maister of *Malta*, euery edict and commandement that generally should bee made among them, to passe in the name of the king of *Hispain*, and than at their comming to the great Maister to obey him as they would doe vnto the king, if hee were in place. And in the meane time, commaunded the army to bee vnder the regiment of *Ascanio Cornia*, and hee to be aduised as the most part of the counsaile there should order. And so with exhortation of a few words, leauing the army marching towards the citie of *Malta*, the *Viceroy* about noontide of the day came to his ships againe, and with the same sayled towards the East part of the Iland, and stayed in the sight of the Citie of *Malta*, beeing but three miles on the South from the sea.

Whom when the citie espied it is not to be demanded if they were ioyfull, for in an assured signe and token of  
Dd. gladnesse



gladnesse, they unbanded the whole artillery of the citie.

The Viceroy agayne hearing the same, caused the gunners of the whole navy, to answer the citie, with blowing of twise of all the artillery in the *Christian* fleet. That done the Viceroy returned into *Sicilia*, to receiue into the Navy, the bands of the duke of *Vrbine*, and of certaine *Spaniards*, that were stayeng at *Messana* & *Sarragoza*, and with them to returne towards *Malta*, to follow and persecute the Navy of the *Turks*, which in manner was unarmed. The *Turks* this while, that purposed to assault the fortres of *Saint Michael* agayne, & so to proue if they could win the same, a few dayes before the comming of the *Christian* navy, had begun to packe, and gather together their necessities, but vnderstanding of the arrivall of the *Christian* fleet, and landing of the *Christians* army, immediately some sounded the alarme, some crying to remoue, and so meruaylous fearfull, every one seeking for the counsell that was thought best, some began to fly away, some to take weapon in hand, but the most part of the *Turks* marching to the trenches retired theyr artillery, and did set fire in the fortifications that could bee burnt, and so with as much expedytion as they could they drew their artillery and the rest of their baggage into their ships.

Which when the garrison of *Borgo* perceyued they manfully issued out, and gaue charge ypon certayne bands of *Turks* that were at a place called *Bormola*, guarding a great and mighty peece of artillery.

The *Turks* hauing no lust to fight, fled away a pace leauing the great peece in the possession of the *Christians*

*stians*, which the *Christians* with force drew into *Borgo*, and if at that time, the new supply of the *Christians* had bene there in a readynesse, and to haue giuen charge on the backe of the enemyes, while they were thus in halting to theyr shippes, either they had opened to themselves a manifest path way of victory ouer the *Turks*, or else to haue spoyled them of the most part of their great artillerie.

But I thinke if the new supply had bene there present perhaps they would rather haue followed the ancient opinion of famous men of warre saying, *Hosti abeunti viam sternendam esse, pontemq; vel argenteum faciendum*, giue way to a flying enemye, yea and if you make for him a bridge of siluer. Albeit the garrisons of *Borgo* and *Saint Michael*, (by reason of their fresh victuall & other necessities appertayning to further besieging if neede were, which through the vnequallitie of the wayes & lacke of horses, was verie difficultie and with much labour on foote brought to them from the citie) thought not requisit to trouble the flying enemye, with further skirmishes. Whereby the *Turks* shipped their carriage artillery, and the most part of their army, without great let or impediment. So the xi of September the *Turkish* navy departed from *Porto Musetto*, when a fugitiue a *Genoua* born came to the prince *Valet* saying, that 10000 *Turks* were landed agayne, & marching towards the citie of *Malta*, to fight with the armie of the *Christians*, which were comming towards *Borgo*. Which when the great Maister heard immediatly hee sent certayne bands, to seaze the fortresse of *Saint Hermes*, and there to fixe the ensigne of the sacred order.

Dd.ii.

Who

Who accordingly forthwith departing, tooke the possession of the Fortres vvherein they found foure and twentie peeces of Artillerie, great & small: vvhich the *Turkes* (hauing no further leasure) could not take away vvith them.

The Nauie of the *Turks* this vvhile departing from *Porto Musetto*, passed vnto the Port of *Sainēt Paule*, and there dyd set on land seuen thousand *Turkes*, vnder the leading of *Mustapha*, their Generall by land. Who had intelligence giuen him that the vvhole Armie of the *Christians* vvhich newly vvhere come, exceeded not the number of three thousand soldiours. And therefore being the more bold to fight, by reason of the little number vvhich he supposed that vve vvhere of, he marched on proudly towards the Citie of *Malta*, and in his vvay thetherward, *Mustapha* discovered the Armie of the *Christians*. Who espyeng the *Turks*, and ready to fight, marched forward couragiously against them, and encountering vpon a hill, the *Christians* valiantly gaue charge vpon the *Turkes*; at vvhich first encounter few vvhere slaine of either side. But in the ende by reason that our number vvvas both greater and our force therewith the more, the *Turks* gaue back and fled, the *Christians* followed, killing and ouerthrowing them, vnto such tyme the rest vvhere driuen to their shippes, but vvhillst each one clustered to get to their navy through to much hast, there perished in the sea about foure hundred *Turkes*, and a thousand and eight hundreth slaine on the land. So as if our *Christians* had bene expert of the places, and knowne the land, there needed not one of the *Turkes* to haue escaped away on liue.

The

The *Turks* beeing thus beaten into theyr ships, stayed still with their Nauy in the port of *Saint Paule*, all the next day following, & a great part of the next night then before day in shoting of a warning peece being a signe of their departure, they set sayle and departed towards *Grecia*, leauing the Iland of *Malta*, shamefully wasted and enpouerished.

Thus the *Turks* beeing driuen out of *Malta*, to their notable calamitie and ouerthrow, the *Prince Valet* made victorious with immortall glory, caused generall processions and prayers to bee made to almighty God for his infinit benefits to them shewed in this carefull time, ascribing the chiefeest cause of this victory to his inexpressable goodnes, then *Valet* distributed to the worthy seruitures, that honorably had behaved themselues al this while, condigne rewards, in prayeing openly euery one according to his demerits with continuall thanks to them all for their great paines, and trauayles passed. Vnto the wounded and sicke he had such tender regard for the restitution of their health, as though it had ben to himselfe. Hce lamented much the destruction & wasting of the country of *Malta*, and earnestly deuised for the repaying thereof againe. Amongst all these things he did not forget to learne, which way, or whether, the enemy this while passed, & what he pretended, which many, in the middes of theyr victory, letteth passe, for which cause euery one hath giuen this worthy *Valet* the name of a most prudent, valiant, and courteous prince, and as one prepared of God, to remaine on the earth, to the defence of his sacred religion, that during his life, euery thing vnder his charge, cannot but remaine

Dd.iii.

fortu-

fortunate and prosperous. About this time *Soltman* sent a mightie Armie to inuade *Hungarie*, which, the Springtime after, he himselfe in person followed: thorough vvhole coming, vvhole *Germany* (as it had good cause,) was meruailously afrayed, and gathered themselves together.

The *Germans* of auncient tyme haue, vwith other nations, rather for glory than their owne safegarde, made warres. But vwith the *Turks* rather for their owne safetie: they haue alwaies foughten, than for any glory that they haue sought thereby. Howbeit *Maximilian* the Emperour gathering together a great Army against *Soltman*, proceeded and layed siege to a place called *Vesperia*, and dyd by assalt vvinne the same from the *Turks*. But *Soltman* upon an other part wanh from the Emperour *Segeft* and *Iula*, being two places of no litle importance.

Whan as the fifth of *September*, Anno 1566, *Soltman* the Emperour in the course and race of his victories ended his lyfe in the famous Citie of *Quinque Ecclesie*: which of five Churches in the same is so called. To vvhome his sonne *Silimus* succeeded in his Empire and dominions: vvhich if he were like in conditions, either to his father *Soltman*, or to his grandfather *Selymus*, and *Germany* to continue in his intestine and inward contentions and diuisions, as it still doth, it is to be much feared but that it vwould happen to *Germany*, vvhich already hath chaunced to the infortunato countries of *Thracia*, *Dacia*, *Mesia*, and the most part of their wofull and miserable neighbour the Kingdom of *Hungary*.

For

For it is an assured and very true sayeng that *Nulla tam magna tamq; firma potentia est, quam discordia non comminuat et perdat*. There is no Kingdome or Power, be it neuer so great and mightie, vvhich discord and ciuill discencion in it selfe, doth not distroy and bring to confusion.

The end of the third Booke.



**To the three worshipfull brothers wor-**  
thy Patrons of vertue and all good Arts, Robert Carr,  
William Carr, and Edward Carr, in the Countie  
of Lincolne Esquiers: Raffe Carr their most  
affectionate kinsman wisheth  
all content.



Having Right worthy Gentlemen, formerly made knowne to euery of you: by such simple remembrances as my power could asford, how much I desire & daily studie in perticuler to serue & honor you: I thought it now not amisse, treating of one argument comd of the same kindred, & deriued from the general obseruations which euery where with profit in these three first bookes are to be gathered, thus ioyntly to you all to participate this common good: For if the vse which euery one ought arightly to make in the reading of Histories, be groundd chiefly in the election of taking, or leauing, the better, or worse, of such things as by examples are faithfully propounded: which vpon occasion should be applied either to the well gouerning of a priuate life, or to the inabling of our understanding for counsell in our countries seruice: In either part I say I know none, (of many who haue had these Turkish affaires with the perpetuall felicitie in consideration) to whome with more credit a man may giue beleefe, then to Hubert Folieta the Genuoys, whilst with much wisdome grauitie and discreation, he handleth though briefly, the causes of the greatnesse of the Turkish Empire, to his deere friend the famous Captaine Marcus Antonius Columna. A treatise I suppose to euery conceauing man, or such whome the care of a common good doth possesse very acceptably

ceptable. This same therefore for the former alleged reasons, haue I heere annexed, so faithfully as I could perswade the nice Italian tongue to speake our proper language. To which I haue further added, (that the occasion of this discourse might the better be apparant,) the narration of the war of Ciprius, held betwixt the Turk and Venetians, some xxx. yeeres agoe. In which their wars, the Venetians being exceedingly ouerborne, (notwithstanding that notable victorie obtained by them and their confederates in the Gulfe of Corinth,) made priuely their peace, without knowledge giuen therof either to the Pope, or king of spaine, who in these wars had ben their associats: whilst Marcus Antonius Columna, Pope Pius quintus general, alwaies in opinion against the same, perswaded to his power the contrary: & that so worthy an occasion of further victory, should not so unworthely be relinquished. Of which matter imparting his mynde to his friend Folieta, it became the subiect of this ensuing discourse: wherein Folieta not intermedling with what the Venetians had done, onely layes downe in general such causes, (as by great reason may be thought) of those fortunate successes which hourly attend the Turkish Ensignes. To which I had rather remit you, then longer to deteine with the harshnes of an ill pleasing Epistle. And now hauing for the present done that due obseruance to you all, of me long both determined, and desired: I most earnestly beseech you to take my boldnesse in good part, void of all saucie presumption: my meaning as it is, clothed in a sincere will alwaies to serue & honor you: & my request as I shall deserue, for euer to be preserued in your good opinion. Wherewith if you shall so much grace me, I protest there can no one thing giue more fulnesse to much of that happinesse which in this world I affect: wherof nothing distrusting, though meanely deseruing, I take my leaue and rest.

Your most bounden for euer

Ee,

Raffe Carr,

# THE NARRATION of the warres of *Cyprus*, held

betwixt the *Venetians*, and the *Turks*,  
during the yeeres. 1570.  
and 1571.



*Cyprus*, so called by reason of the rich Copper Mynes therein conteined, plentiefull, and abounding in excellent Wynes, Wheate, Oyle, & Suger: being in deed that true Mercarian Isle vnder xxxv. degrees of the Poles eleuation: standeth in the Gulfe *Issicus*, distant twentie German myles from *Syria*, conteining in length fiftie miles, of the sayd German measure, but in breadth ten or twelue at the most, and in diuers places lesse.

*Salamis*, the Citie of *Cyprus*, built by *Teucer Earide*: held for their Kings for many discents: the same *Teucrians*, of vyvhich race *Euagoras*, and *Nicocles* were, men celebrated and made famous by *Isocrates* Orations: To these *Teucrians* succeded the *Ptolomees*: to them the *Romans*: vnder vvhose gouernment, although much and grieuously vexed by the *Saracines*, they continued firme and constant, vnto the time of *Andronicus Commenus*, and *Henry* the sixt Emperors: For about the yeere 1190 *Richard* the sonne of *Henry* the second, King of *England*, sayling towards *Palestine*, and put from landing in that Island, by *Isaac Commenus* then the gouernour, tooke the same by force: vvhich afterwards he gaue to *Guy* of *Lusignan*, (sonne in law of King *Almerick*, vvhich had lost the Citie of *Hierusalem*) in exchange,

for

for the bare tytle and name to him and his posterities of the sayd Crowne of *Hierusalem*.

The issue and lyne of vvhich *Guy*, enioyed the sayd Kingdome of *Cyprus* 250. yeeres, vntill the tyme that *Peter* reigned, vvhich was taken prisoner by the *Souldan* of *Egipt*, but afterward vpon Tributarie condicions restored, to vvhich *Peter* succeded *Peter* the sonne, vvhich at the death of his Father, being very young, was afterward married to *Helena Paleologa*, and by hir had issue *Carlotta*, married first to *John*, King of *Portugall*. But lastly to *Lewes*, Duke of *Sauoy*, vvhich *Lewes* for a small time reigned King of *Cyprus*.

This second *Peter*, had likewise a bastard issue, called *James*, vvhich by the help of the *Souldan* of *Egipt* expelled from the kingdome of *Cyprus* the sayd *Lewes* of *Sauoy*. *James* tooke to vvyllie *Katherin*, the daughter of *Marcus Cornelius*, adopted by the state of *Venice*, vvhich being vwith childe by hir husband, (and he before hir deliuerie dyeng, in the yeere 1475.) The said Common vvealth, tooke to their charge, both the mother, child, and Kingdome. But shortly after the infant dyed, supposed to haue bene poisoned by the practise of that state: vvhich solely thereby possissing themselves of the kingdome, reduced the same into the forme of a Province: *Katherin* the mother being brought back to *Venice*, vvhich liued to the yeere 1510. Now *Selymus* the first Emperour of the *Turks*, after the viter oppressing of the *Souldans*, and taking of the kingdome of *Egipt*, caused the yeerely reuenue vvhich beefore was accustomed to be paid to the said *Souldans* by the kings of *Cyprus*, of all such merchandise as were brought in or transported

Ec.ij.

red

ted thence, to be set in certaine 8000 Duckets; vpon condicion of which painēt by way of a yeerely tribute he freely graunted to the *Venetians* as to his vassals, the possession of the said Ile: which painēt of 8000 ducats, the *Venetians* onely would suppose to be graunted as an honorable reward, or gratuitie, & in no sort as a tribute.

But *Selymus* the second demaunding of the said *Venetians* by a Harrauld, the Fee & possessiō of *Cyprus*, which hether to hee alleadged they had held vnder condicion of a yerely tribute, affirmed their whole right, ( so they had any ) to be extinguished, & the Intrest to be deuolued, & comd back to him, as the superior & Paramont Lord: Because contrary to the allegiance due to the lord of the Fee, the said *Venetians* had giuen harborough, and receit, vnto certaine *Spanish* Pirats, enemies to the sayd *Selymus*, who by the licence of the *Venetian* Magistrates, had brought into *Cyprus*, & ther made sale of great pilage & certain booties taken out of *Cilicia*:

And although diuers other of the *Turkish* Emperours had tollerated the said *Venetians* to vvith-hould vvhat vvas not their right, yet he the said *Selymus* had in determination to haue his due: vvith vvich if in good accord they vvould be content to depart. he vvas not in any sort to violate their bonds of amitie, or breake the peace, but vvould endeauour in euery degree to aduance the estimation of that common vvealth.

If otherwise, yet he the sayd *Selymus*, vvas not to forgoe his right, vvose meaning vvas to recouer the same by force.

The *Venetians* vpon this message, although (by the scarcitie of prouision and vittailles vvich for diuers yeeres

yeeres before they had endured, as likewise by the firing of their Arsenall, ( wherein the yeere precedent, their whole sea preparation had ben consumed, ) they were mightely perplexed and amated, yet with noble resolution they returned aunswere, that the sayd *Selymus* had no iust cause why to bereaue them of their iurisdiction in *Cyprus*, which now for a hundred yeeres, in right of inheritance they had peaceably possessed, and that the yeerely pension accustomed to be paid to the *Souldans* of *Egypt*, was no tribute dew to him, as to the superior lord, but onely an honorable gratuity, whereby the kings of *Cyprus* were accustomed to acknowledge their thankfulness vnto the said *Souldans*, as to their benefactors and friends, by whose help *Peter* sometimes the king there had recouered the same. In which their good cause they made no doubt of gods assistance, by whose aide and help, they had decreed & nothing doubted with force of armes to repell the violence and iniuries of *Selimus*: and to defend *Cyprus*.

This answere returned to *Constantinople*, all the marchants of *Venice* trading there, were presently apprehended, their goods sealed, and *Pial Bassa* Admirall at sea, with a nauy, *Mustapha Bassa* with an army by land, ( conducted through *Asia* and *Cilicia* ) were sent against *Cyprus*. Whilst in the meane time at *Venice*, *Petrus Lauredanus* duke of that common wealth, by grieffe and discontent dyed, during whose government many heauie mischances, and calamities, had befallen that state, others more dangerous daily ensuing. To this *Lauredanus* with great applause of the people, *Lodonicus Mociniga* succeeded. The generall appointed for this war of *Ci-*

*prus*, was *Hieronimus Zanius* an old man, high fourescore yeeres of age, yet of much viuacitie and abilitie in body, who slowly coasting along *Iadera* and *Corcyra*, made thereabouts, whilst the rest of the Navy should approach, an idle and vnprofitable abode, but in the end houlding course towards *Creet*, hee there continued, as he had in commaund expecting the ayding forces of the *Pope*, the king of *Spaine*, & of *Cosmus* duke of *Florence*.

But now whilst these affayres, were in this sort carried by them, *Piall Bassa* the *Turkish* Admirall, first putting a strong garrison in *Rhodes*, aryued at *Micarium* in *Cyprus*, vpon the Calends of *June*, whether *Mustapha Bassa* had likewise transported both his foote and horse forces, without any worlds resistance. Now the *Venetians* a little beefore had fortified the citie of *Nicosia* (distant from the sea coast seauen *German* myles, and which in former ages had both ben the seat of theyr kings & an Archbishops see,) with cleane bulwarks & a garrison of two thousand soldiors, vnder the government of *Nicholas Tondatus* & *Astor Baleonius*. This city *Mustapha* (being without impeachment master of the field) besieged, erecting round about the same many fortes and sconces, which hauing by a whole month both battered & often assailed, was in the end taken by force, where hee repauring the ruins of the said fortifications, and planting therein a garrison, enforcing the course of his further victory, vpon the 16. of *September*, the same yeere he began to laie siege to *Famagosta*.

On which day, the *Christians* who had lingered all this while about *Creet*, with a nauy of 200 ships, wholie ignorant what things had hapt at *Cyprus*, and now setting

ting sayle from *Heraclea Sentia*, not far of encountred *Lo-donius Bembus*, who recounted the losse of *Nicosia*, wherevpon the generals of the fleete *Hieronimus Zanius*, *Iohn Andreas Auria*, & *Marcus Antonius Columna*, with others calling a counsaile of war, through different & delaying opinions, whervnto may be added the misfortune of a horrible tempest which disperfed the fleet, lost both opportunity, & the aduantage of executing any honourable attempt. In which their consultations it was chiefly argued, that now the haruest being far spent, & the winter drawing neere, the nauigation of the *Pamphilian* seas would be exceeding dangerous, besides if ought should fall out otherwise then well, there was no where thereabouts safe harborough for the ships. That the *Turks* now becomd insolent through the successe of their late victory would fight with greater courage then before, hauing besides all the hauens & other harboroughs friend vnto them, whom it was not now possible by any meanes as matters were fallen forth, to expel from *Cyprus*. The confederates further alledging that they were sent onely in ayde of the *Venetians*, not to recouer things once lost, but to giue let least ought should be lost, which occasion since it could not be holden, it was thought most conuenient againe to returne to *Creet* & the gulfe of *Venice*. *Andreas Auria* likewise alledged for himselfe, how he had in command from the king of *Spaine* his Maister to come back with his nauy in the end of *September*, wherevpon this *Christian* capitaines casting away both hope, & counsell, of recovering *Cyprus*: & retyring backe were before they could recouer *Creet*, with great stormes of winde, they and their whole fleete miserably afflicted.

Now

Now



## The Narration of the warres

Now when they were arriued at *Creet*, *Andrea Auria* craued liſſence to depart, that ſo he might obey his princes command, from whom hee had in charge, for the reducing of his fleet to *Meffana* in *Sicilia* which the generall of the *Venetians* did not deny him. Whom *Hieronimus Zanius* himſelfe, within few daies followed, leauing behinde him with the charge of the army & chiefe command *Sebastian Venerio*, but the ſaid *Zanias* arriuing at *Corcira*, the ſenate of *Venice*, with much contempt did there abrogate his authority, and from thence ſent him to *Venice* priſoner.

So this yeere thus vnprofitably ſpent, and with infinite charge waſtfully caſt away, this *Chriſtian* fleet furniſhed of euery thing requiſit, as ſouldiours, captaines, munityon, mony, victualls, and in deede what not, who had in admirable expectation of ſome worthy exployt drawen the eyes of all *Europe*, moſt by their variable, different, and deluding counſells, partly by tempeſts & the peſtilence, which in ſhort time had conſumed many numbers of gallie ſlaues, and mariners, became vtterly fruſtrate.

When *Pialis Baſſa* (who by ſpyes had vnderſtoode of the departure of *Auria*, and the *Venetians* from *Creet*) paſſing by *Rhodes*, and after by the *Cadiz* lands, returned to *Conſtantinople*. But *Muſtapha Baſſa*, that had taken *Licoſia*, and now enforcing the courſe of his victory, had beſieged *Famagoſta*, hee ſayle leauing in the harbour and other parts of the Iſland ſufficient ſtrength againſt incurſions, drew the reſidue of his forces to winter in other gariſons.

Now the *Venetians* hauing theyr Navy thus returned

ned without aught vvorthele executed: created a triumvirate Capitall, for the finding forth and puniſhing of all ſuch as arightly might be ſayd to haue bene faultie in that fleet, vvhereby that expedition had no better ſucceſſe, their vvares prouiſion to ſo ſmall purpoſe ſpent, and ſo great an ouerthrow, vvith derogation to the honor and reputation of the *Venetian* name, had happened.

They likewise laboured to compoſe a Peace vvith the *Turks*, for vvich cauſe they ſent to *Conſtantinople*, *Jacobus Ragazonus*, to deale vvith *Mahomet Baſſa*, vvhom they vvell hoped to haue found fauorable, and better inclining therunto, then the reſt.

But all this in vaine, therefore vvith great care and induſtrie they procure the contract of a league, or confederacie betwixt themſelues: the *Pope Pius Quintus* & *Phillip* king of *Spaine*: by ſundrie extraordinarie meanes they leuie huge ſummes of monie, and repaire vvith larger prouiſion, their vvether-beaten and vnarmed Gallies of *Corcira*. Committing the vvhole charge and command of theſe affaires to *Sebastian Venerio*, then *Gouernour* of *Creet*, vvhiſt in the meane time *Pertai Baſſa* made by *Silimus* high Admirall of all the *Turkiſh* forces by Sea, landith in *Cyprus*, a new power, and *Muſtapha Baſſa*, chiefe Generall of all the Armie by land, vvith much extremitie, as hardly beſieged the Citie of *Famagoſta*: vvhan the vvorthie Captaines *Marcus Antonius Bragadenus*, *Aſtor Belemius*, *Lodowicus Martinigus*, and *Laurencius Tempolus*, moſt valiantlie for the ſaid *Venetians* defended.

The Citie *Famagoſta*, is ſeated in the Eaſt part of the

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Iſle towards the *Syrian* ſea, not farre from *Conſtantia*, famous for that vvorthy Buſhop *Epephanus*, vvwhich is ſuppoſed to be the ſame *Sakamis* anniently inhabited of thoſe kings of *Teucris*. This Citie of *Famagoſta*, vvvas built and enlarged by *Henry* of the Famely of *Lufignana*, King of *Cyprus*, about the yeece of Chriſt 1295. at vvhat tyme *Ptolemais* vvvas loſt, (vvwhich vvhillſt it was poſſeſſed of the Chriſtians, vvvas that famous Staple vvwherein the trafficke of all commodities coming either from the *East* or *West* continents, vvvas exerciſed.) But *Famagoſta* although both by Nature and Art ſtrongely fortified, beeing beſeiged and aſſaulted by this huge Armie of the *Turkes*, with all meanes which open vvwarre, or ſecret pollicie, could deuife: at length after cleauen monthes defence, vvweakened vvwith extremities, and voyde of all hope or ayde, vvvas brought to thoſe difficulties, as they vvvere enforced to render the ſame to *Muſtapha*, vvpon compoſition, that ſo their liues, goods, and the vſe of Religion to thoſe *Chriſtians* that would remaine ther, ſhould be free: & to the reſt not willing, paſſage might be had & ſafe cōduct to depart.

But the perfedious *Turke*, (litle regarding his faith, or Soldiours aſſurance formerly giuen) vvhen the ſaid Captains and Magiſtrats, accompanied vvwith a trayne of their valiant & vvvarlike companions, (to whom by name he had giuen their ſafe conducts) approached his tent, gaue order all, ſhould be kild, *Anthonius Bragadennus* onely excepted, to whom after three ſeueral comāds in his preſence to haue his head cut of, yet changing his purpoſe for the greater ignomenie, permitted his noſe onely

onely & eares to be lopt away.

And vvheras three hundreth beſids of the *Chriſtians*, vvvere come forth into the Camp vvpon ſecuritie of the peace, theſe as the reſt, he bid ſhould be pittitully ſlain. And for ſuch as were gone aboard the ſhips in hope to haue ſailed for *Creet*, he cauſed them beſids the diſpoiling of their goods, to be made all Gally ſlaves. After vvwhich, *Muſtapha* the next day entring the Citie, *Teupolus* by his command was ſtrangled. And *Anthonius Bragadennus* y cities gouernor thus deformed & diſmēbred in his noſe and eares, after he had by way of mockery carried in ſhow about the moſt ſpecial, & famous parts of the citie, reuiling him with all kinde of villanies, cauſed his ſkin vvhillſt he was yet quick, to be ſkeane of: the vvwhich torment *Bragadennus* with great conſtancie endured, calling God for witneſſe & reuenge of ſo monſtrous cruelty, and perfedious brech of faith.

Theſe things thus executed in *Cyprus*, the *Turkiſh* nauie on purpoſe to vvwith-hould the *Venetians* from attempting aught for the regayning of the ſayd Iſle, entred the Gulfe of *Venice*, perſecuting all ſuch Cities on the coaſt of *Dalmatia*, both by ſea and land, as vvvere vvnder the obedience of the ſayd *Venetians*.

Vvhillſt in the meane tyme the confederate Nauie of the Chriſtian Princes verie leaſurely vvvere aſſembled at *Sigilia*: The General vvwhereof vvvas *Don Iohn de Auſtria*, the baſe begot ſonne of *Charles* the ſith, and brother to *Phillip* King of *Spaine*, vvwho enbarcking at *Barcelona*, brought vvwith him along to *Genoa*, *Rodolph*, and *Erneſtus*, the ſonnes of *Maximilian*, the ſecond, then Emperour.

From whence going to *Naples*, and thence sailing to *Messana in Sicilia*, he there expects the rest of the associate leaguers, which were one hundred and eight Gallies of the *Venetians*, from *Creet*, and elsewhere, thirtie from *Naples*, twelue from *Panormos*, twelue from *Genna*, vnder the conduct of *Andreas Auria*: twelue from the Pope, whose Captaine was *Mareks Antonius Columna*, foure from *Malta*, with some others out of *Spaine* which all of them should ther meete together. Where now though late, being assembled vpon the fourth of September, they vveyed their Ancors in *Messana Port*: and coasting the *Salentine*, and *Lacinian* promontorie, they passed the Ilands of *Corcyra* and *Cephalemia*, and came to the Gulfe of *Corinth*, where they vnderstood that the *Turkish* fleet at the Ilands *Echinades*, were then remayning.

In this *Turkish* Nauie, were chiefe of commande: *Hali Bassa* the Admirall, *Pertai Bassa*, *Lusalis* King of *Alger*, *Hamfarn* sonne of *Barbarussa*, the *Strach* of *Alexandria*, with others to whom the great Seignior had giuen command, that in any case the Christian fleet should not alone be fought with, but ouercome.

Where ioyning in Battell with the Christians, in the sayde Gulfe of *Corinth*, vpon the *Nones* of October, GOD giueing vs the victorie, the *Turkes* were vwhollic discomfited and enforced to fflye.

Their great Admirall shippe taken, *Haly Bassa* slaine, and some thousands of Captiue Christians who were slaues in the *Turkish* Fleet, sett at libertie.

For which Victorie, generallie thorough Europe there was thanks publickly giuen to God, with other spectacles

spectacles & shewes of Ioy, yet for all that those worthy captaines left no footing of any other memorable exploit or trophie puld from the empire of the *Turkish* tyrant, as was well supposed they might, who notwithstanding the same, held nor onely the whole Isle of *Cyprus*, but many townes besides in *Balmaria* before taken, amongst which *Vicinium* and *Doileum* wonne by force were not the least.

In the yeere 1571 then next following the *Venetians* both feeling and fearing the forces of that mightie enemy, wherwith they were well nigh oppressed, made preparation againe for all things needfull to these wars. But whilst new stirrs in the low countryes, and borders of *France*, did seeme to encombe king *Philip*: the succours from the confederates long in coming, *Don Iohn de Austria*, about the Calends of September repayred to the place of appointment, and the associates with their fleet, scarce shewing themselues to the *Turkes* at *Peloponnesus*, without ought else worthie of that preparation, had retired to their places of wintering. The *Venetians* I say, supposing themselues forsaken, and left to themselves, without the priuity of any other their confederates priuely made peace with *Selymus*.

Of which while diuers men diuersly did dispute according as affection or fancy led them, *Mareks Antonius Columna* Admirall of the Popes nauie (who in this expedition was a companion and associate to *Iohn de Austria*, the chiete generall) amongst others was in opinion cleere against and improving the same peace, condoling the deed, and constantly affirming so noble a victory thus got against the *Turks*, was to haue bene

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prosecuted with all might and mayne, which not onely in his publike and familiar conferences, hee had often protested, but likewise had affirmed by his letters, (writ to his auncient friend *Hubert Folieta* of *Genoa*,) wherevnto whilst hee the said *Folieta* retournes aunswere, and his opinion withall, hee further takes occasion therevpon, to touch some causes of the greatnesse, of the *Turkish* Empire, with their perpetuall felicitie and good successe in those their warring sayres, the which for that it is most worthy, to be read, as well for the excellent wit therein containned,

as for the great profit, and pleasure which thereby may be conceyued, I thought it not vnbee fitting heereunto to haue it annexed.

The



## The causes of the greatnesse of the

*Turkish* Empire, written by *Hubert Folieta* of *Genoa*, to the famous Captaine, *Marcus Antonius* *Columna*.



**O**V write most worthy *Columna*, what a great griefe you conceiue, in considering this peace, thus concluded betwixt the *Turks* and *Venetians*, being ashamed as you say, of the condicion of vs *Christians*, that notwithstanding the memorable sea victory gotten against them by the confederate princes, (wherein your selfe, with that most fortunate prince, *Don Iohn de Austria* was both a counsellor and companion in command,) then which since the suppression of the *Romain* empyre, there was neuer seene or heard any more famous, yet notwithstanding the great joy, thereon conceiued is todayne setled, the hopes from so happy beginnings which had enflamed good mens mindes in short time vanished, and the preparations of so high and excellent counsells comd to naught.

For my owne part (sir) I am in opinion, that not onely the griefe but the shame is to all noble mindes, as to your selfe in common. What the determination of the *Venetians* was therein, as I doe not well know, so if I did, it is not needefull that I should detect it. For there are some as it is well knowen to you, vvhom mightely disalovv of vvhath is done, and are much discontent, that they through pusillanimity, and sodaine dis-

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dispaire should to giue vp their friends, who for their sakes alone, had thrust themselves in the dangers and charge of those wars, to which opinion I perceiue you specially inclining. Others thinking otherwise and excusing them doe aunswere that the *Venetians* perceiuing it lay not in their power, alone to manage these warres with sufficient might, and seeing few other of *Christian* prouinces and princes, ought prouoked by so worthe and good beginnings, or happy successe, whereby to take part either in paynes or charge, or to lay hould with the said confederates of so sayre an occasion, to conioyne the forces, and to reuenge so many iniuries, in all former times receaued, now especially when it was supposed, that the *Turkes* were vterly dispoyled and left naked, both of friends, ships, or sea forces, and thereby had opportunitie to expell them, from forth whole Europe.

But chieflie the *Germane* princes sayling, whom the many attempts of the *Turks*, against their state hath continually, with offensive armes vexed, afflicted with infinite losses, and nearest of all others, to the danger had beene in these affayres, for theyr owne safetie to haue giuen them furtherance. All which motiues to others, finally auayling the said *Venetians*, and therefore destitute vterly of hope, nor daring to support themselves, in the succours of their confederates, knowing what enemy, they had in hand, they were compelled to prefer wholesome & commodious counsell, rather then plausible, and so without obstinacy to their destruction, (as was supposed) to provide for theyr priuate affayres. Thus these thinges in both parts, diuersly disputed, according

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cording as euery man his affection or passion perswades him therunto. My selfe will leaue of vncertaine estimation, indifferent, to euerie mans ovne peculier Iudgement, without interposing myne, especiallie when the matters handled are to small purpose, the decde done not to be vndone, and that euerie exposition is friuolus, vvhich is without fruit.

But rather lett mee communicate with you, my honorable friend, in that whereof your Letters giue good occasion, and which may perhaps, bring with it to vs, both some profit, detecting such my cogitations, as often and long haue encombred my secret thoughts, and manifesting therein my opinion, which without some gaine, I hope shall not retourne againe. For if what my conceit is herein shalbe allowed by you, a man of so great estimation for wisdom, and accustomed to the managing of high affaires, then shall I think my selfe assuredly protected from the calumnies of all maligners: or if not allowed, yet shall I giue occasion by my writing, wherby you may remoue the error, which for long hath taken possession in my minde, and so in both these parts, it shall draw mee aduantage.

The effect whereof is, that as I haue alwaies houlden these *Turkish* affayres to be both fearefull and prejudiciall to the good estate of all *Christian* Prouinces, yet now more then at any time am I driuen into a vvondefull admiration of the same, vvho hauing so great a Naue vanquished, consisting of a huge number of Shippes of vvarre, vvhereof part were sounk at sea, part taken by our men, together vvith so great pro-

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uision of munition and all other things befitting the vvarres, deuoured by the deepes : besides no small number of vvorthie vvarriours, Captaines of famous memory, expert Nauigators, (vvhereof there is great scarcitie euerie vvhere) vvhich in that battell perished; all of them being such things as by any accident once lost are hardly to be recouered in many yeeres continuance, yet such and so great is found the forces and faculties of those *Turkes*, as notwithstanding all these losses vvith indaunted courages, forthvvith they haue fitted a nother Fleet, litle inferiour to the first, vvhich prouided and at all points furnished, against the beginning of the following Sommer, sett sayle to Sea, daring to shew them selues in sight of our vvictorious Fleet, vvith semblance not to yeelde one foote to flight, so ours hadde bene so aduenturous to haue comd on.

Of vvhich matters vvhillst often I haue reasoned vvith my selfe, and searcht vvhat vvere the causes of so much greatnesse, vvhat artes & meanes had brought them to so much estimation, and how they could attaine such excellent perfection in euery millitarie function. Together how it comes to passe, that so many of our men should continually reuolt, and abiuring all Christian rites, becomes affecters of that impious *Mahumetane* sect, vvhillst on the other part vve finde none or very few of those repaying vnto vs.

Of these things I say, vvhillst vvith my selfe, I often argue vvhat I conceaue, may it please you heere to see sett downe,

First

First I hould that in both parts this case giues rather cause of pittie, then admiration :

For beholding so manie Nations and People conioyned vvith vs in the indissoluble bondes of Christian Charitie and Religion, vvho to our and a number of Christian Princes shames, are dayelie borne downe vvith the heauie burthen of captiuitie, vvhillst vvee neither vvith care enter into the consideration of these things, or harbour the least thought in our hartes, to make them succour :

I say it is to be lamented, that so much blindenesse should haue thus possessed our mindes, vvhen in deed the miseries of our oppressed brothers, ought no lesse moue vs to commiseration, then if the like daunger vvere discending vpon our owne heads.

We see this dayly increasing flame, catching hould of vvhatsoever comes next, still to proceed further, nor that the insatiable desire of dominion in these *Turkes* canne vvith any riches be content, or vvith the gaying of many mightie and vvealthie Kingdomes be so settled, but of vvhat is this daye gotten, to morrow they build a new ladder vvhereby to clymbe to the obteyning of some newer purchase.

And vvhich to feare, is more fearefull. That vvheras euery bondage in it selfe is hatefull and far worse in condicion then Death, yet that of the *Turkes* of all other is most crewell, most execrable: Who hould it not enough to bring the Prouinces in obedience, vnlesse all be vnder, vvho either excelled in Witte, Fortune, vvealth, or honour, all the Nobilitie slaugh-

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tered, or commaunded into farre distaunt and remote Countries, vvhome beereauing the exercise of eue-ry Noble Science, stripping of all necessarie ornaments, deformed and mishapte in all basenesse, at length be brought to vvhath fulnesse of miserie may bee imagined.

And for those our brothers, vvhich is the second point in our grieffe propounded,) I know not vvether it vv ere better fitting to deplore their condition, then to detest their hatefull Impietie, vvho bewitched with the sayre shoe of a frayle and very smal good, renounce the euerlasting and Celestiall riches, abiure Christian Religion from Heauen discended, and by the sonne of Almighty GOD, to vs men deliuered, vvhich onely all other meanes shut vpp, makes free passage, and layes open the path that leades to eternall Blessednesse, and the Kingdome of Heauen.

These things as I first sayde, (deare friend) are to bee pittied, and vvhercin vve are vvith all endeaour to labour, least at any tyme the lyke may happe to vs, or vve brought to the same passe, then vvhich in miserable miserie there is neither state nor place more abiect.

Now for this much admired Turkish glorie, and so many yeeres succesfull Felicitie, vvhereof vvhist few aright enter into consideration, perhaps it may seeme vvith some verie straunge, yet in my conceit neither are the things them selues vvnusall, nor the causes thereof obscure, vvhich then the better shall appeare, if one by one vve compare and examine  
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their fashions, lawes, counsayles, and discipline, with those other of vs *Christians*.

First then none will deny me I am sure, but that amongst these causes, vvwhich extoll kingdomes & common wealths, to great wealth, much power, and high estimation, religion before the rest is to bee preferred, which religion containeth in it a double function, one is most excellent and deuine, and the same for which at first religion, was by heavenly prouidence, enspired into mans minde: this (as I sayd formerly) beeing the onely and most certaine guide, conducting to immortal blessednesse, then which was neuer greater gift granted to men by Almighty God, whose operation is such, as in regard thereof it drawes our affections to esteeme all riches, all pleasures, kingdomes and commandes, or what may bee thought precious in this life, to bee vilde and of no valew: according to that saying, what shall it auayle mortality, to obtaine the dominion of the world, so in the end he make shipwracke of his owne soule.

A second function of religion is politticall, appertayning to publike gouernment, and to contayne people in obedience, and dew obseruation of lawes, wherein all antiquities beare witnesse, that whosoever well and wisely haue founded cities, societies, or common wealths, they haue alwayes had this part of religion much respected: which as it nothing detracts from the maiesty of religion, so doth it make the same, to bee holden in higher reuerence, vvhist the vse and profit thereof, extends it selfe in each mans eye, to the gouerning of all humane affayres, and preservation of e-



tery well planted state. Of that first and excellent part, we haue no purpose to speake, for it little appertaines to the argument in hand, wherein it shall suffice thus much alone bee said, that all the lyfe of euery *Christi- an* man, ought especially to bee spent in giuing thanks, to that deuine deity, by whose goodnesse we haue our soules illuminated, with the bryght beames of true religion, all cloudes of erronyous darknesse driuen away, wherewith the mindes of such as are ignorant in the same bee houteily blinded, whereby wee may finde, how much better by infinit degrees, the conditi- on of *Christians* is, rather then that of the *Mahumetans*, who misled by the lyes of that wicked Imposter, and following his damned positions, diuerting from the e- ternall path of saluation, are carryed headlong in theyr misbeliefe to hell torments, and euerlasting damnation: but let the vrging of this point, be the office of deuines, and now againe to my purpose.

Then let vs come to the poynt, which is proper to our question, wherein it shall be nothing pertinent whe- ther any professed religion, bee true or false, ( for that as beefore is said, appertaynes to the soules saluation ) but whereof the vvhole substance vwill consist in this, that what religion soeuer receyued, may be sincerely & carefully obserued, by the supportacion of such a religi- on, onely kingdomes and nations, haue gathered great wealth, and attayned to great estimation, power, and dignity, as may be manifestly proued, both by forceable reason, and many memorable examples. For whereas it was apparant, that the chiefe and best meanes to en- large any Empire, is appropriate to the true knowledge  
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of managing armes, and the glory of millitary profes- sion, in which two thinges, are specially respected, o- bedience and discipline, of both these, religion I say is the principall foundation, whereby it alwayes came to passe, that euery nation aduanced at any time to greatnesse, haue euer beene studious, and most care- full preseruers of the same.

In mayntayning which position omitting num- bers, that may bee named, I will content mee with the *Romaines*, who farre surpassed all other people in wisdome, as in wealth, valour, and glory.

For these graue and true experienced men, find- ing that the considerations of religion, were of great force, both to beautifie their state, and enlarge theyr Empire, in no one thing laboured more then the true obseruation of the same, possessing theyr people still with opinions of feare and reuerence towardes theyr Gods. To which alwayes so great beliefe was giuen, as nothing was euer executed in publike or priuate, which was not attempted, as hauing the Gods the first authors thereof. So as what euer of their affayres were finished, what new designes taken in hand, what ex- pedicion put in practise, what fortune of war assayed which was not done, the Gods first consulted, nor did they labour any other thing in those theyr vowing and rendring vowes, dedication of Temples, obseruation of prodigies ( wherein the wise of that age were ex- ceeding ceremonious ) with sacrifice and supplications, beseeching the good will of the Gods, but to perswade the people that whatsoeuer was done was all by the pleasure & permission of the same gods, who obseruing  
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euery action of mans life, becomes sharpe chastisers of wrong and wickednesse, but most seuerer reuengers of theyr owne neglected or contemned deities, whereby it came to passe, that amongst those *Romaines*, no crime was accompted so haynous, as that of an oth or faith plighted & broken: and of this religion how great the estimation was, it may perfectly appeare, by that example onely, when as the counsell, with so great diligence laboured, to diswade them from those assemblies of the Tribunes, determining in the fauour of the people to propound certaine lawes, against which the Senate in opposition, could giue no other let, but that the consulls should proclaime, the leading forth of the legions in expedition, from the attendance of which warfare, whilst the people had no power to resist, neither could the authoritye of the Tribunes giue any redresse, they before hauing in that case sworne their obedience to the consull, and seeing no other meanes, how to rid them of their religious oath then by the death of the sayd consull, consulted amongst themselves to kill him: whereof they had put the practise in full execution, if it had not further bene tould them, that no religion could bee dissolued by any contrived mischiese: holding murder as it seemed, in a lesse degree then the violatyon of theyr faith. Which one thing, euer held their souldiers so obseruant to the will of their commanders, to whom they had once giuen the assurance of the same, that that people which in a serled peace, was neuer but stubborn and rebellious agaynst theyr superiors, the same in war were euer found quiet & contented, bound onely by this military oath, whereof by peace alwayes they became

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became discharged. To which againe may be said, so great was their regard, that they would prefer the obseruation of the same, before the preservation of their owne liues: submitting their heads euen to the block, if at any time according to the manner of those wars the Consull should giue in command for any seruice not well executed, that a Capitall decimating amongst them, should be made, and by this it came to passe, that through the doubtfull danger of death, both by the enemye and their commander propounded: their souldiours alwayes in vvarres were assured to doe the utmost of their iudeuours to overcome: choosing rather to dye valiantly fighting, then be vanquished, least in the feare of an incertaine death, whose perill they might perhaps auoide by bouldnesse and resolution, they might incure that certaine slaughter, from auoyding vvhich, Religion cut off all hope: For vvhich cause, I iudge that no wise man will deny mee but Religion as in euery publike designe, so especially in the affaires of vvarre, is a most firme foundation.

Now whether that this part of religion is either of the *Turks* or vs *Christians*, not more sincere care and sacred constancie obserued, I rather leaue it to euery mans peculiar opinion, then therein to deliuer my owne iudgement, yet some things I will note by the way: as they come into my minde. First since that the especiall parts of religion consisteth principally in this, that all things be referred to that supreme power by whose wil we beleeue euery humane action to be governed, it is vvonder how far the *Turks* for this point surpass vs, hauing that opinion with such firmnes setled in their minds &

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attributing so much to the deuine prouidence, that ther in they seeme rather to excede to much, then beleue to little, vvhilst necessarily they vwill tye vwhat euer befalls vs, vnto fate, by no humane countells or prouision auoidable: For vvhich cause they suppose that by y same fate a certaine limit of time is assigned euery mans lyfe, vvhich neither can be prolonged beyond the same, neither by any meanes of vs shortned, & therefore vvhē the appointed houre of death shall come, of necessitie the same must be vndergone: in vvhich houre, vve are as certaine to dye, though priuately shut vp in any chamber & deuided by all meanes from danger, as if a man vver conuerfant in the heat & fury of fight, vvhether a thousand vveapons vver bent against his bosōme, vvhich death, if not by heauen decreed, there amongst these vveapons of as great safetie may a man assure himselfe, as in his owne chamber: now this opinion though it may be disproued, in so much as thus it attributeth to the necessitie of destinie or fate, yet to y matter handled, it brings this great good, that the *Turkes* become therby more confident & bould, vvhether fighting in battaill or vndertaking any other dangerous exploit, because thereby the feare of death is fully bereaued thē, the certaintie whereof as they conceaue, cōsisteth not in perills, but in their vnauidable destinie. Now that all humane affaires are in the supreme & deuine moderation, depēding wholly vpon the power of heauen, is a most holy true & *Christian* opinion, which as euerie man ought constantlie beleue, so must we eschew all causes that seeme to impech the credit thereof. And therefore vve are to consider, least by the contrarie perswasions of any philosophie,

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phie, vve may be misled, especiallie by that of the *Peripatikes*, whose opinions are now a daies in high estimation. The great part of whom doe so dispute of the deuine nature, as though it had no humane affaires, nor could haue anie in consideration, being a most damned doctrine, & vnworthie y maiestie of heauen, for so with one stroke they vterlie cut of all religion: For in vaine then should we praie, vow, sacrifice, or by anie other act of grace, beseech the goodnesse of almightie God, craue his assistance, or desire he shuld behold vs in mercy, whē vve are assured before hand, that none of all these he either doth, or can regard: which impediment is bereaued the *Turkes* whilst they are quite forbidden the studie of *Philosophie*, (though I am not ignorant how that wicked seducer *Mahomet*, had therein a farther meaning: viz: least by the knowledge thereof, the great vanitie & smal ground in the promulgatiō of his lawes might apeare,) so greatly hath this ignorance proued profitable to the *Turkes*, for the maintenance of their opinion in Religion. But whether the studie of *Philosophie* bringeth more good or hurt it is not my purpose here to dispute, reseruing it for a longer argumēt & more oportune time & place. Now this opinion thus planted in the mindes of the *Turks*, makes them fearful of the deuine maiestie, and inflames thē with a reuerēd regard of religion: By which it comes to passe, that though this their seruing of God be full of error, yet shall wee finde euery where many excellent signes of their blynd deuotion, commending their diligence to the furtherāce of the same. For none thē they doth with greater reue. ēce repaire to their temples, prostrate with al humility, crauing pardō of their sins by the

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assistance

assistance of Gods spirit, holding all holy things in high veneration, wherein omitting other, they so much respect, not onely theyr owne Priestes, and religions, but euen those of ours, as they accounted it in the highest degree of sin, to iniury any one of them any way, which hath ben approued by infinit examples of pirates, of whom a number (as often it hath fallen out) hauing taken any Priest of ours, haue presently set him at liberty, least by retayning the seruant of God, they might thereby importune the same God to reuenge his wrong.

Another thing to their great comendation is, that none then they more carefully looke to the conseruation of their lawes, none punishing the publike breach thereof in whosoeuer, more seuerely. For which there is neuer heard with them, any blasphemy agaynst God, any adultries committed, or ought else wherein ther is offence, either in the violation or negligent obseruation of the same. And yet for all this, I am not Ignorant that by the same impious & execrable law, more haynous sins are permitted, but that it may appeare, how strickt euen the mightiest are in preseruing their saide lawes, wee haue in this age a memorable president testyfyed in the person of the great Emperour *Solyman*, which I will heere recount. This *Solyman* amongst those number of excellent chosen women, who are kept specially for the kings concubines (for it is permitted by the law of *Mahumet*, that euery *Turke* may hould so many concubynes as he is able to mayntayne,) calling one among the rest more often then any other, & she perceyuing therby, how the Emperour was mightely possesed with hir loue, by a cunning drift so much effected with him, as shee obteyned  
hir

hir freedome, (for it is to be noted, that as well boyes as girles, so shut vp in the *Seraglio*, are his slaues,) after which beeing by Coatch sent for as at other times to come & accompany the said Emperour, made answere, how the much admi red, what reason the great *Signeor* had, who beeing a prince of so much maiestie doubted nothing publikely, to enfringe the holy law of *Mahumet*, by which it was provided in playne words, that no man in such sort should accompany free women, & therby so grieuously to offend, euen in the view of his people, whose eyes were all cast vpon him. Now the Emperour much moued with this answere, as likewise brideling for the present the heate of his desire, demanded the next day, of the learned in theyr lawes, whether by law it might be admitted any man to keepe free women, for theyr concubines, whervnto when he had receaued answere, that it was not lawfull, and not enduring the want of that wench, whom he loued entirely, the sayd *Solyman* for that reason married hir. Now I neede not on the contrary part to recount, how *Christians* carry themselves in the like cases, least I further exulcerate those wounds by handling, which I am sure by admonishing will not be cured.

The next place to religion, whether establing any common wealth, or inlarging a dominion, is worthily attributed to discipline, wherein betwixt vs and the *Turkes*, the very truth is, in my opinion, that there is admitted no comparison, whilst discipline is a thing with them of high estimation, but with vs of little or no account, & that this is so, it appeares cleerely in this that euery yeere the great Emperour at certaine seasons

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sends his inquisitors abroad through all parts of his territories, to make election of the choise children to be found of an assigned age, which inquisitors where they come, calling together all the sayd children of the same place, select from amongst them, such whose towardnesse and inclination sheweth it selfe, either by the disposition of the members, or countenance fit for their purpose, those they take, whom bringing to the court, there by especiall maisters provided, be they instructed in all manner of martiall discipline, by which & through much exercise, their bodies and mindes are confirmed to endure euery labour, nor is there any one entertayned in their warfare, but such as by much exercise are invred to this discipline: whereas on the other side it is hourelly scene, that our armyes for the most part, doe stand of men, both rude and vnexperienced in all martiall demeanours or discipline.

This aboue named discipline, hath in it a triple vse, wherof the first is the true knowledge of things appertayning to the warres, this drawing with it an inabling of the bodies forces: by which it falles out, as we haue often scene theyr strength approued, that an arrow shot from a *Turkish* bow, hath clouen the shanke of a gallico oare, where the wood hath beene nine inches thicke, so as the head of the same arrow, hath shewed it selfe on the other side: whereas such souldiours as wee put in pay, without consideration, are chosen in companies ignorant of all things appertayning, & then for the most part learning the vse, and art of theyr weapons, when there is more need valyantly to manage them.

Another commoditie of discipline is, that it prepares

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pares the bodye to the enduring of labour and wants, inables the minde to an inuincible resolution, in bearing all extremities, which misery, or the scarcity of things, may cast vpon man.

For theyr mindes accustomed to continuall exercise, cannot bee daunted with paynes, spare diet, or other inconueniences, wherwith it is daily acquaynted, content consistng, not in many, but necessary things: so as wee see theyr great armyes long time, often kept together with small prouision, theyr fleetes and land preparations, executing aught with exceeding expediton, whilst a huge part of baggage, ordenarily (attending other camps) giues to them no let.

Whereas both our land and sea forces, are still encombred, with loadings of houshold prouision, our souldyours euer faynting without the affluence of euery thing, theyr bodyes impatient of labour, and this not onely when they want not things necessary, but if they abound not with delicates, so as to our shame bee it spoken, a man may obserue in our camps, those excesses of feasting and needelesse fare, which euen in the plentifulnesse of peace, myght in Cities perhaps seeme riotus, where amongst other things ill beseeming, it irkes me to thinke, that men should bee brought to so much nicenesse, as in a fleet, to haue Snow carryed, for cooling their wine.

The third vse of discipline is the profit of obedience, the which there is no one greater vertue in the exercise of armes. This as it is with the *Turks* more in estimation then euer in any age the like hath ben scene with other nations. So of all people in the contrary heereof wee are

are desperately diseased, euen to the death, our souldi-  
ors being mutinous, factious, disobedient, who fashio-  
ned by no rules of discipline, contained in dutie, by no  
regard of punishment, in their owne camps, themselves  
to themselves for the most part work more mischief,  
then what at any time they receaue from the weapons  
of the enemy: which foule faults to our greater shame,  
is as common to the capitaines & commanders, as the  
priuate souldiours, a number of whom studyeng their  
perticuler reuēge, their priuate ambitiō, or (then which  
vvith men of war there is naught more odious) their  
seruyle gayne, betray their countrie, neglect their Prin-  
ces command, and vvithout executing aught vvorthie  
their trust and imployment, cause often Impediments  
through malicious enuie of anothers glory, to what so-  
euer might be worthely executed: Such things I saie,  
vvith vs, men dare dayly do, freed from feare of all con-  
digne punishmēt, so as I cannot name a place in shame  
or dishonor baser, vvwhether these or the like vvith euer-  
lasting Infamie, haue not brought vs.

Next now ensues that I speake of the *Turkish* valor  
and vertues, no meane causes or of small regard in the  
inlarging of any Empire, vvherein if I should affirme  
that they doe much excell vs, I might so both become  
iniurious to the *Christian* name, and procure my selfe  
more enuie then I affect. Yet truth is truth, by vvhom  
soeuer deliuered, and well I may say that true valour is  
vvith the *Turkes* of more accompt vvhen to the vali-  
ant alone the passage to all militarie promotions is layd  
open, vvhere any ones merit towards his countrie by  
any manly act performed, shall aduance him through  
all

all degrees of dignitie, euen to that vvwhich is next the  
highest with vs, on the contrary Nobility being of grea-  
test reconding, such for the most part euery vvhere com-  
manding, who though they shew smal or no testimonie  
either of valor or vertue, yet supported by the greatnes  
of their blood, manage matters as they list. This being  
that one thing vvwhich so much hath exasperated y minds  
of many worthy *Christian* seruitors, that flying frō those  
ensignes vvhen they found no place for their vertue: re-  
pair to the *Turks*, vvho for their good parts fairely intreat  
them, & according to the prooue any one makes of his  
vvorth, doth so prefer him to euery roome of Honor:  
their condicion in that point being exceeding commen-  
dable, vvho demand not vvhen the man is, but vvhat  
he is, neither holding that vertue and valor are gifts of  
granfathers inheritance, like to riches & those other of  
Fortune. Yet for all this, I must not deny but that nobi-  
litie ought much to be esteemed, being in it selfe of great  
might to stir vp the minde to honorable actions: and a  
rich ornament to all such as haue vertue thervnto con-  
ioined. But barely to prefer nobility before valor & ver-  
tue, or for any mans gentry folly to commend him to  
the greatest functions in a common wealth, or to com-  
mā an army, that vtterly I disallow, as full of danger to  
any state: I highly reuerence the kinred of kings & prin-  
ces, vvhom to haue placed in great cōmāds, is not alone  
vvithout peril, but profitable. For if authoritie be of esti-  
mation in all humane affaires, in those of the wars espe-  
cially it is a most material point, vvherin the Soule and  
lyfe of good gouerning, chiefly cōsisteth: as hauing obe-  
diēce alwaies attendant, no one thing more furthering,

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as I haue said euery warlike designe; & therefore to such all souldiors & captaines without repining, submit their greatnesse, not being subiect to enuie & misreports, before whom euery man forceth himselfe for the formost, because the testimonie of their valor & vertue shewen in their princes presēce cannot be cōcealed by the calumniation of any backbiter, whereby as often it happens, men doe dispaire of a due reward. In these things therefore I would thus be vnderstod, that wher ther wants a due mixture of their parts together, compounded: it is better in my cōceit by the *Turkish* president to prefer in cōmand a man endwed with vertue lacking those exterior badges of great blood, then that any supported by nobilitie, should bear sway Indigent of those perfectiōs which at first begot all true Nobilitie.

*Malo pater tibi sit Thirsites, dum modo tu sis  
Æacide similis: Vulcaniaq; arma capeffas.*

*Quam te Thirsite semilem producat Achilles.*

The last though not the least of those things which antiquitie haue attributed to the necessitie of the well establishing any state, standeth in measuring arightly according to euery mans merit, reward of well doeing or punishment of it. Now in either part how far we are to the *Turks* inferior, it is often admired. But least I giue occasion of further offence, & procure from many that hatred which I desire not to vndergoe, I will desist frō further prosecuting this course, in preferring these *Turkes* considerations with ours, & onely wil say that as the whole scope of their cōsels & other proiects tends to the glory to be gotten by the vvars, so are all ours in an other kinde more excellent, for the maintenance of common

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societie & the studies of peace, which vvith so infinit a desire we hunt after, as all charge, all expēce of time, & mony, all care & diligence is held both light & litle, for obtaining the same. And this appeareth first by y great numbers of Priests, Mounks, Freers, & other religious, possessing great power, & wealth, with large lands, and stately erected monasteries, wherwith the plentiful countries of *Europe*, are euery vvhere pestered: to vvhom a great part both of *Christendomes* reuenues & cōmodities be comd. This I doe not disallow but much commend the pietie & wisedome of our ancestors, who haue bene so bountiful in bestowing to holy vses, so liberal towards the maintenance of Gods seruice, releueing the necessitie of the poore, and both nourishing & cherishing the studies of Arts & euery good literature. Another thing with vs is, that our seates of Iustice prolong the deciding of causes, with many quiddeties, & delayes, which is the sole reason that we see so many lawiers & Iudges, so many attorneys, solicitors, clarks, notaries, aduocates & proctors, to whom so great rewards & large fees are assigned, as this practise of y law (lyke to that other) hath drawen with it no litle part of the welth of *Christendom*. Againe, the Scholes of good learning are by vs vvith great charge maintained, to which many repaire, & perceiving the accompt that learned men daily liue in, doe spend either all, or the greatest part of their life in that profession. Lastly (good god) what cost is bestowed in euery handi-craft thing, what huge foundations hourly laid, what state & abundāce of publike & priuate buildings, what superfluety in ensignes of honor, picturs, hangings, & plate, what delicacy in euery household prouisiō:

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what



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What riot in feasting: what pride & expence in apparell: vvith how great stipends are the masters in these Artes maintained, all which as they greatly beutifie our *Christian* countries, maligne the *Turks* in regard of vs to appeare rude & vnpolisht: so are they vtterly ill fitting for martiall affaires, or enlarging of an Empire, vvhilst they consume & wast a great part of that wealth which were better bestowed in the wars.

Now vvith the *Turkes* all these things are in proportion, ether small or none. Their Preists & Religious are very few, their lyuing litle, supplied with things onely necessary. Their law determinations want demurs, and delatory ples receauing sentence at the first or second hearing, vvithout tossing so many volumes of the ciuill & *Canon Codices*; with their comments: so many yeere bookes of the common lawes course, whereby so great store of counsell & aduocates, such quantitie of clarks and notaries are in small request.

Ther is amongst them no orders of Monks & Freeers, no Pyles of statly builded Palaces; no sumptuousnesse in their dayly port, but thrifty cariage, spare dyet, vvherein the hands of cunning cookes haue no meddling: the *Turkes* neither caring or crauing these things, but spending vvhat they haue in theyr needfull preparations for the vvars, vvhere vvealth and rewards are peculiarly appropriate to the valiant. No marueill therefore that so many as I haue sayd, of vvorthy *Christian* seruitours, leaue the displayed Banners of *IESVS*, vvhere small and for the most part, no consideration is allotted their merits, repairing thether wher they finde riches and estimation the guerdon of well dooing.

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Now since the one and onely meanes, of the *Turkish* glory, doth proceede from the warlike designes, it is no wonder that all their endeauours, should wholly beebent to that, which thus alone drawes with it honor, riches, & power, wherby we see how they excell all other nations, in martiall estimation, & execution of high employts, what great numbers of valiant souldiours, they continually keepe in pay, how huge forces of horse and foote they maintaine, so as to all people their name is now becomd fearefull, & that alwaies they retorne victors from euery war once vndertaken, for inlarging their dominion, our mens mindes on the other part by multiplicite of knowledges and imployments, being so distraught as few can spare any time to follow such seruice: through as I said the innumerable sorts of handy crafts, studyeng of arts, & professing of religion, things indeed that haue diuerted y thoughts of the greater part, of able *Christian* bodies, frō the affectation of armes, for it is the condicion of man, with greater content to follow that course of life, which is easie, safe, lesse paynefull, & free from danger, then that other of the wars, professed enemy to rest & quietnesse: especially when this first with pleasure, brings neuerthelesse the commodities of estimation & riches, manifesting the apparant reason that thus we see all our cities, so replenished with marchants, craftsmen, inholders, vinteners, & such like: euery place reporting the disputations & different opinions of *Philosophers*, & deuines, with continuall canuassing of law cases. All which things as they mightely I say, adorne our peaceable part of the world, so doe they wholly disable all martiall credyt, for which wee finde vpon euery

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occasion, how weake our forces are, for cause of the small number, who follow the wars. In which, this further I dare affirme, from sound iudgment, that of that age, whole bodies through *Christendome* are fit for the wars service, the hundreth person scarce doth apply him to that profession, whereas on the contrary with the *Turks*, the greater part alwaies doe wholly deuote themselves, to the practise of armes.

But now let vs come to the inflicting of punishment due to offenders, the feare wherof, of equall containes men in compasse, both to the ciuell and martiall discipline : wholesome lawes being with vs, as well as with the *Turks*, to that end established. Yet the vigor & force of good lawes, should not consist in a positive decree, but in a and sacred inviolable obseruation of the same : the rigor whereof we *Christians*, for the most auoide by the cunning distinctions of lawyers, mitigate by the fauour of great personages, or breake through by our owne power. Where with the *Turkes* these things are otherwise, there being left no meanes to obtaine pardon of any offence, no hope of escaping punishment : so as we see with vs all thinges to be corrupt & dissolute : liberty for each one to doe what he list. Our souldiours licentious & freed from feare of punishment, with carelesse carriage, executing what euer is committed to their charge, still mutinous, & sedicious, respectlesse of command, great doers in words, litle indeed, in skirmish making courtie, who should first begin, or rangd to fight, running away the first squadrons scarcely chargd, or before any honest hasard or fortune were attempted : & although we haue as cannot be denied diuers worthy cap-  
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taines, who are not impeachable, of any these crimes, yet what shall those few excellent men affect in reforming the generall corrupt conditions of time, in faith little : whose vertues are to feeble, to encounter the outgrown vices of this age. Again it is well knowen, that many great commanders ther are, who casting away their priuate counsels & considerations, prefer the publike good : yet euen these haue such for inferiour leaders, who are no lesse, (if not more) faulty, then the ordinary souldiour : the greater part of whom follow the seruice for gaine, and make a traficke of the warres. Who when a muster of men is to passe, and pay to bee made, beelie their number, either borrowing, or suborning base fellowes, to fill vp such roomes as are sayling, whereby it falls out that the payes bee euer strong, but the companies weake.

Now none of all these defaults bee conuersant in the *Turkish* campe, where the souldiour is euer seruiceable, and at commaund, executing what they haue in charge carefully, reseruing their heat of courage to encounter the enemy, which with high resolution they both vndertake and maintayne : nothing dismayed, with a first ouerthrow, nor discouraged with the enemies second good successe, whereby to leaue the field, but valiauntly fighting conteyned, more by the force of their lawes, & the punishment therof, then by feare of the enemy, keepe theyr assigned ranckes, expecting the best, and enduring the yrmost of good or bad fortunes chances, who alwaies bearing in mind, the fearefull spectacles of those theyr barbarous chastisements, as ther may be caused, determine either to depart  
the

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the field as victors, or if fortune enuie theyr valour, rather there to receiue an honest death, from the edge of the enemies weapon, then at home to be strangled, or haue his throat cut, by a hangman. Againe whilst the valour, of the leader striues with the obedience of the souldiour, who neuer haue their priuate counsels, deriued from the publike good, we find them to performe most excellent offices: in theyr seuerall places both towards their king and country.

These are such obseruations ( true honoured *Columna* ) as formerly I sayde, haue long possesse my minde, touching the greatnesse of this *Turkish* Empire, which if you allow, I shall the better like, if otherwise, conceale them to your selfe. I pray, least they may chance into such mens hands, as may detract from the estimation of my iudgement.

*FFINIS.*

